

News from behind the **IRON CURTAIN**

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About this Publication . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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Area Trends



THE internal strains of Stalinism were clearer as Plan fulfillment announcements were mingled with new arrests, decrees and diatribes against Zionism and the Catholic Church. As a climax to the recent clerical trials in Cracow, the Polish state took drastic steps against the Catholic hierarchy. In an attempt to guarantee a pro-regime clergy, the Communists passed a decree giving them control over appointments and dismissals of Church leadership. Anticlerical propaganda also emphasized the Catholic Church's "anti-patriotic attitude" and its "betrayal of the people." In Hungary, high Party officials of Jewish origin were reported arrested in a purge that decimated the ranks of police officers. Throughout the area, anti-Israeli editorials were featured in the newspapers keyed by long-winded assertions that Zionism is the historical ally of imperialism and traitorous to the workers' movement. Communists boasted that Zionism in East Europe was an anachronism because the so-called People's Democracies had provided Jews with a homeland by abolishing racial oppression.

Communist jargon defines patriotism as adherence to and emulation of the USSR. Romania and Czechoslovakia have therefore undertaken "patriotic" reorganizations of their administrative machinery, expanding their bureaucracies and emphasizing centralization of power according to the Kremlin-established pattern. The chief purpose of the remodeling is to improve production. This was evident from changes in industrial leadership and the splitting of economic ministries. Communist reports showed 1952 production gains in most sectors although plans were not completely fulfilled. Sabotage, excessive labor turnover, absenteeism and lack of skilled technicians continued to be stumbling blocks. Consumer goods were still in poor supply and of poor quality and living standards sank beneath the weight of inflation and stepped-up industrialization. Although serious difficulties in coal, steel and power were major Satellite headaches, agriculture remained the Communist Achilles heel, badly cramped by drought, peasant resistance, and managerial incompetence.

POLAND

Church Versus State: The Communist regime moved to seize control of the Catholic Church in a decree providing for State supervision and approval of all clerical appointments, transfers and dismissals. While the decree violates the Communist Constitution which stipulates that the Church is separate from the State and free to make its own appointments, it implicitly acknowledges the Church's present power. Since the Church has continued to be the core of anti-Communist resistance, the Communists have decided to abolish Church-State separation, exercise strict control over Church officials, and replace recalcitrants with pro-regime clergy who will adhere to all Government orders.

Industrial Failures: For the first time in the history of Communist-dominated Poland, the yearly industrial production

plan was not fulfilled and severe shortcomings were evident in raw material and heavy industrial output. Overall production in 1952 was 20 percent higher than in 1951 and the 1952 Plan fulfilled by 98 percent, but in mining, and in the machine, chemical, transport, and food industries, production fell far short of requirements. President Bierut placed particular emphasis on increasing coal output, although the plan was fulfilled by 98.2 percent.

Collectivization: Failures were also reported in the output of State farms, which comprise 12.5 percent of all arable land. Increases of 39.4 percent over 1951 were planned, but only a 15 percent rise was attained. Despite shortcomings, a new collectivization drive was announced and the crypto-Communist United Peasant Party made plans to get the campaign underway.

ROMANIA

Cabinet Shakeup: A Cabinet reorganization designed to make the governmental setup coincide with the USSR's resulted in an increase in the number of Ministries and the appointment of several Moscow favorites. The economic administration was most affected, and the rapid personnel turnover in this sphere suggested Soviet dissatisfaction with Romanian production. Following the Kremlin model, Romanian Ministers now have limited powers and their every move is directed by Russian "experts" and the Super-Cabinet, acting through its Planning and Control Commissions.

Oil Trial: The sentencing of 23 oil executives and an ex-Cabinet Minister to prison on charges of espionage for the West and sabotage of the Romanian oil industry between 1945-47 failed to explain away current shortages in Romanian petroleum production. The defendants had no real power after 1945, when the Soviet Union gained control of Romanian oil production. Gheorghe Vasilichi, Minister of Oil from 1948-51, was prominently missing from the list of the accused, although he is largely responsible for the present situation. Vasilichi, eased out in April 1951, is a close follower of Gheorghiu-Dej, and the Prime Minister may have chosen the defendants as scapegoats in an effort to protect his adherent's reputation.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Growing Predicament: Failures in agriculture and key industries continued to harass regime leaders. Milk and egg deliveries to the State were far below demands, and appeals to cooperative and independent farmers proved to be of no avail. Hard coal production also remained below plan targets. In an effort to remedy shortcomings the Government organized another Radio Symposium of Cabinet Ministers to indoctrinate factory workers. This broadcast was aimed at ensuring plan fulfillment and promoting pre-May First Socialist competitions. Restrictive food rationing measures, introduced on February 1, forced workers to purchase more food on the free market at higher prices. Labor is thus made to work harder to maintain its present standard of living. Consumption is decreased in general and nonproductive consumers have also been pushed out of the cheaper rationed market on to the higher priced free market.

Wheels of Bureaucracy: Following the December reorganization of the Communist Party, the regime effected important reorganizations of the government machinery along Soviet lines. These measures were intended to improve ad-

ministrative and economic work rather than to purge top officials. The complexity of Communist bureaucratic machinery is evident in the present Cabinet of 40 Ministers compared with the 15 member pre-war Cabinet. Further, there are two categories of Communist Ministers: members of the Presidium, who comprise the ruling group, and rank and file Ministers subordinate to them with narrower fields of administrative responsibility.

BULGARIA

Planned Economy: The 1952 Plan for industrial production was fulfilled by 98.9 percent with failures in heavy and light industry. Although no data was given on completion of the agricultural plan, the cold wave in May followed by a summer drought caused serious setbacks in farm production. Despite this, the regime pressed State deliveries in order to export to the Soviet Union and Satellites. Since these deliveries were almost totally fulfilled, severe shortages are expected on the home front by next spring.

Catholic Arrests: A secret trial of six Catholic priests in Plovdiv and the arrest of thirteen other priests and four Carmelite nuns on charges of espionage for the US and the Vatican presaged a new wave of anti-Catholic persecution. The unpublicized Plovdiv inquisition may be in preparation for a show trial patterned on the Sofia trial of last October.

HUNGARY

Purge: Reports on the arrests of Minister of Justice Gyula Decsi, Chief of the Planning Bureau Zoltan Vas, Chief of the Secret Police Gabor Peter and a score of other officials indicated that the Communists had launched a violent anti-Semitic offensive within the Party. The men alleged to be in prison are all Jewish and, with regime consent, aided Jewish emigration to Israel between 1945-46. Since the Government now considers such help illegal, the group may be charged with responsibility for this policy in a future show trial. Most of the men liquidated were members of the Secret Police which would suggest that a widespread purge of that organization is in progress.

Economics: The Yearly Report on plan fulfillment listed a number of significant deficiencies in view of the fact that 1953 production is scheduled to increase 16 percent over 1952. Production in 1952 was slated to increase 25 percent over 1951, and although no official figures were given, it is estimated that total production fell short by three percent.

Rigid Patterns

I. THE PROGRAM PREPARED

Patriotism may properly be called devotion to the welfare of one's country, but in Communist parlance it means fealty to the Soviet Union and absolute obedience to its totalitarian control. The word *traitor* is used to explain away all opposition and employed with a frequency which indicates the prevalence of discontent. In the rigid terminology of Stalinist denunciation, all recalcitrants are Western hirelings who have betrayed their own national interests, sought the destruction of the so-called workers' movement, and conspired for a new world war.

In recent weeks, the most battered standards were those of Zionism, the Church and Social Democracy. Anti-Semitic purges in Hungary and anticlerical measures in Poland pointed to intensified repression. Diatribes in the area were characterized by statements such as "Zionism has been unmasked as the stubborn enemy of Socialist countries which have abolished all racial and national oppression and secured full rights for the Jewish people." Or "Right-wing Social Democrats are pliant tools of capitalist bigwigs," and "sworn enemies of the people's happiness and youth's future." In Poland, the regime denounced Church officials who do not support the regime and assigned the clergy the role of rallying under the slogan "For God and Country." This travesty of patriotism cannot destroy the true significance of love of country, nor will it succeed in destroying the captive people's resistance and belief in liberty.

By a decree of February 9, the Polish Communist Government seized virtual control of the hierarchy and administration of the Polish Catholic Church by severely limiting the Church's right to make its own appointments. This decree was a climax in the regime's violent anti-Catholic offensive which was intensified in December after the Pope announced that Archbishop Wyszyński would be elevated to Cardinal. According to official reports, the decree was "inspired" by revelations made in the recent Cracow trial of four priests and three laymen charged with anti-

State espionage. The decree states that the Government must approve in advance all Church appointments, promotions and transfers. Regime consent must also be obtained for the creation, abolition or transformation of church posts and functions. All members of the Church hierarchy are required to take a loyalty oath to the regime and only Polish citizens may receive ecclesiastical appointments. Further, "any member of the hierarchy who carries out activities contrary to law, or who supports or conceals this activity . . . shall be removed from his post, either on the initiative of his superior church authorities or on request of state authorities."

The obvious intention is to fill Church vacancies with so-called patriotic priests collaborating with the regime. This was openly admitted by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 13:

"The decree provides that only patriots will be appointed, that only persons who support the Polish state's interests will hold ecclesiastical posts. The decree [was inspired] by revelations made in the Cracow trial. [It] was adopted because we cannot tolerate a state of affairs in which religious institutions are [used as] centers of diversion and espionage after the pattern of the Cracow Curia."

"Patriotic Priests"

According to the newspaper *Slowo Powszechne* (Warsaw), February 5, two "patriotic priests," Fathers Stanisław Huet and Bonifacy Wozny, were appointed Vicars General in the Cracow Archdiocese by Bishop Franciszek Jop, the recent successor to Archbishop Eugene Baziak who was arrested by the Communists in December. The two new appointees have played an important part in organizing the current campaign of collaborationist priests against the Catholic hierarchy. Huet is Vice-Dean of the Theological Faculty of Warsaw University and a member of the Central Committee of Intellectuals and Catholic Activists on the Polish Committee of Peace Defenders. Father Wozny, a former supervisor of the Augustine Order in Poland, was mentioned favorably in official commentaries on the Cracow trial:

"He [Wozny] was blamed for approving the men appointed [by the Communists] in 1950 to head *Caritas* [Church charity organization]. In this connection, he was interviewed by Cardinal Sapieha, who threatened him with canonical punishment. As a result, the dissolution of the Augustine Order in Poland, which was decided prior to Cardinal Sapieha's return from Rome, was expedited."

New attacks launched by collaborationist priests against members of the Catholic hierarchy indicate that the regime intends to oust a number of Church leaders in the near future. For instance, in a report on a conference of priests in Bydgoszcz, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 7, declared that several high-ranking members of the Catholic clergy had been condemned for not "recognizing the Polish *raison d'état* and for boycotting the Church-State Agreement. What is worse, the Włocławek Curia supports them in this attitude." The Conference passed a resolution demanding immediate dismissal of the present Chancellor of the Włocławek Curia because "his work and attitude [toward] the Polish regime are not merely objectionable but indicate plainly that he is hostile to everything Polish, patriotic and lawful." The Conference elected a four-man commission to present this resolution to Bishop Korszynski, Ordinary Bishop of the Włocławek Diocese.

God and Country

Recent attacks were also directed against former Archbishop of Cracow, Eugeniusz Baziak, and four other Bishops in a broadcast by Radio Warsaw on February 9. Quoting from an editorial entitled "Outside the Nation," the commentator charged Archbishop Baziak with saying: "I have regarded and still regard the Agreement between the Government and the Episcopate as a dead letter. I have broken [this Agreement] consciously." The other targets of abuse were Archbishop Jalbrzykowski, and Bishops Swirski, Majewski and Bernacki. Referring to them, the commentator declared: "There are Bishops and Archbishops who make life difficult for the clergy under them and who [hamper] patriotism and work on Committees of Peace Defenders and The National Front." Undoubtedly, these Bishops are slated for removal.

The Committee of Priests (collaborationist) recently voiced its support of the regime by adopting a resolution on the importance of national solidarity and loyalty to the Government. As published in *Slowo Powszechne* (Warsaw), January 31, three interesting points in this resolution read as follows:

"[As] we are deeply concerned with the welfare of the Church and the faith, the unity and moral solidarity of our nation, the safety of our frontiers and the peaceful development of our country, we demand:

"The improvement of relations [in a number of Curia] and the introduction of changes which will eliminate once and for all the danger of using the clergy in anti-State activities and which will fully guarantee the loyalty of Roman Catholic priests who will never again be led on a path incompatible with the Church's and the nation's interests. . . .

"We also demand the suppression of the hostile attitude towards People's Poland which persists in clerical seminaries . . . so that these seminaries will not only be schools for training priests but also schools for [developing] warm and true love for our People's Fatherland.

"Finally, we demand that the [Episcopate's] unfriendly attitude towards the Polish clergy cease. The Polish clergy lives according to the patriotic and progressive tradition of great churchmen. . . . Refusing to serve foreign interests, [the clergy] stands alongside the Polish people . . . rallying under a deeply Catholic and national flag: *Deo et Patriae*."

For Whom the Bell Tolls

In the past month the Hungarian Communist regime also stepped up its anticlerical campaign, particularly against village priests who have opposed joining the so-called priests' peace movement. The Communists consider village priests the backbone of rural resistance, and it is probable that a number of them will soon be removed and replaced by pro-government clergy. In one recent diatribe, Radio Kossuth, January 20, reproved the clergy in Bakatoranthaza for tolling church bells when the former local landowner died:

"Not only Protestant Church bells tolled, but also those of other Churches. The Count's death was considered a great loss not only by Rev. Sandor Homolai, but also by Roman Catholic priests Simon and Schoderbeck. The priests have also prayed to heaven for the salvation of this good-for-nothing, gentleman-exploiter's soul."

On the same day, Radio Kossuth denounced the parish priests in Szil for hampering the formation of a cooperative. The Communist commentator declared that one farmer had planned to join the cooperative until his wife visited the village priest. When she returned home, she made her husband withdraw his application.

In another attack against a village priest and religious sentiment, Radio Kossuth, January 26, boasted that the Communists had abolished such commercialized affairs as the annual church fair in Andocs, a shrine for worshippers of the Virgin:

"The fair meant a nice profit for the town. The priests changed the Biblical saying, 'Man does not live by bread alone,' to 'Man does not live by the Gospel alone but needs bread and even wine.' Accordingly, a tavern and a delicatessen were opened next door to the church. . . . However, the liberation brought about changes in Andocs. To the church's disappointment, land was distributed among the people and the pond [the site of a miracle] is now used mostly by ducks. The monastery is still inhabited by a few Brothers. . . . Among these is Father Nemeth, who spends his time visiting. . . . His smile is humble, but his deeds are sinister. With sweet-sounding words, he incites children against the new way of life. There are always a few who believe his pious words. But the time of miracles is over in Andocs."

There are also reports of anti-Catholic action in Bulgaria. According to a Vienna correspondent, six Catholic priests were recently tried in Plovdiv. Since no publicity was given this event in the regime press, exile observers suggest that this was probably in preparation for a future show trial. This secrecy is also explained by the fact that during the October trial of Catholic priests in Sofia, there were contradictions in the testimony, and many people were not convinced of the defendants' guilt. The Communists are now taking more precautions in preparing indictments and "confessions." Another correspondent reports that new Catholic arrests have been made in the past month. These include the imprisonment of four Carmelite nuns from Sofia and 13 priests from various parts of the country.

Anti-Semitic Arrests

The anti-Zionist campaign has also been implemented by new denunciations and purges. According to reports on Hungary, as yet unconfirmed by the regime, the Communists recently arrested a group of Jewish officials including Chairman of the Planning Bureau Zoltan Vas and Minister of Justice Gyula Decsi. (On February 8, Radio Kossuth announced that Decsi had been relieved of his post and replaced by Bela Kovacs, formerly in the Educational Division of the Party.) Other functionaries reported to have been liquidated are section head in the Ministry of Justice Istvan Timar, Police Col. Jozsef Szaberszki, Police Lt. Col. Andor Csapo, Police Maj. Janos Tihanyi, Director of the Jewish Hospital Laszlo Benedek and Director of the Hungarian Radio Istvan Szirmai. There are also rumors that Gabor Peter, head of the political police, has been arrested along with the others. This action is said to have followed the arrest of Lajos Stoeckler, Chairman of the Hungarian Jewish Community, on charges of illegal currency manipulation. (See p. 3-4, February issue, 1953). It is noteworthy in connection with these arrests that on February 3, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry demanded that Jozef Walter, Cultural Attache at the Israel Legation, leave the country. If the Government is preparing a show trial, Walter will probably be named as one of the persons with whom the defendants plotted a "Zionist conspiracy."

Police Purge Indicated

Most of those arrested were members of the police who, under Communist orders, aided the illegal emigration of Jews to Palestine between 1945-6. An exiled journalist has suggested that support of emigration will comprise one of the major charges to be levelled against these men if an anti-Zionist show trial takes place. Other accusations will probably include illegal currency manipulation, connections with Laszlo Rajk, participation in the Spanish Civil War and dealings with "international Jewry." For instance, Zoltan Vas, an old-time Communist and member of the Party's Political and Central Committees, has the following counts against him: his brother-in-law, Bela Lieberman, recently resigned from his post as Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires



Caption: His Fate

The dropping leaflets are *espionage, diversion and sabotage*

From *Folk-Sztyme* (Warsaw), December 11, 1952

(*Folk-Sztyme* is the official Communist Yiddish newspaper. It is the only Yiddish-language newspaper permitted to be published in Communist Poland.)

fares in Israel and applied for political asylum; another brother-in-law, Laszlo Benedek, was chief physician at the Jewish Hospital in Budapest until his arrest and is known to have served the political police by performing a number of brain and nerve operations on their victims. Vas may also be blamed for his extravagance, his black market activities in connection with the enterprise West-Orient, dollar manipulations with the Budapest branch of "Joint," and for the escape of his secretary, Peter Kelemen, who left Hungary illegally in 1949 after embezzling large sums of money.

Exiles state that Gabor Peter, who founded the Hungarian political police in 1945 and remained its chief, may be attacked for friendship with Laszlo Rajk during the German occupation, aid to Jewish emigrants, encouragement of black market activities and tolerance of illegal currency dealings within the police force. It is also said that Gabor, who is one of the most hated Communists, may be made a scapegoat for the people's anti-Communist sentiments. Further, the fact that Gabor has been police chief for some time and has collected incriminating evidence against top Communists, has obviously not ingratiated him with many of his colleagues.

Information submitted by exiled researchers on the other men involved in these arrests confirms the predictions above. Gyula Decsi, a lawyer and intellectual, rose to Party power as a member of the political police. Between 1945-6 he supported the illegal emigration of Jews to Palestine. In September 1946, he became head of the police division charged with liquidating churches; in 1950 he was named First Deputy to the Minister of Justice; and in 1952 he was appointed Minister. His connections with Gabor Peter, his Jewish origin, and his affiliations with Laszlo Rajk will undoubtedly be used to establish his guilt.

Istvan Timar, who was a law clerk prior to World War II, also rose to eminence in the police force. In December 1945, he was put in charge of the liquidation of Arrow-Crossists, and in 1947, took an active part in liquidating the Smallholders Party. He was a member of the circle of Andor Villanyi and Endre Szebenyi, who were both arrested in connection with the Rajk trial, and his position was already endangered at the time of their arrest: He was removed from the political police and appointed a section head in the Ministry of Justice. Timar will probably be charged with aiding illegal emigration, belonging to Rajk's circle and being of "Jewish-bourgeois descent."

Jozsef Szaberski, Andor Csapo, and Janos Tihanyi, all former members of the police, will probably be prosecuted for similar reasons. Szaberski was in charge of planting informers in social organizations, Csapo took an active part in police confiscations and belonged to the Audit Office, and Tihanyi was in charge of planting informers in Church organizations and liquidating Church leaders.

Istvan Szirmai, who was elected an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1951, is also known to have maintained close relations with Rajk as head of the Hungarian News Agency. At the time of the Rajk trial, many Agency employees were arrested, and it appears that Szirmai's turn has now come.

"Zionism—Ally of Imperialism"

Throughout the Iron Curtain area, anti-Zionist propaganda has been disseminated with unrelenting ferocity. For instance, in an "analysis" of Zionism's significance, Radio Budapest, February 6, claimed that it always allies itself with imperialism. According to the Communist commentator, Zionist leaders showed a decided preference for

German imperialists before the First World War and after the War allied themselves with British imperialists, who encouraged Zionist attempts to settle in Palestine in order to consolidate their own rule:

"Palestinian Zionists used [British help] to conduct a cruel campaign to exterminate the country's Arab inhabitants. . . . The overwhelming weight of British influence, however, was opposed to the interests of the influential group of US Zionists. US monopolies aimed at gaining political influence over Zionism so that it would become one of their agencies. This is how Zionism was drawn into the US sphere. . . . [At present] Zionist organizations are hotbeds of cosmopolitanism . . . which is compatible with bourgeois nationalism. Zionists give continual aid to the American imperialists. . . . The anti-Soviet trend of Zionism springs from this. . . . [Typically] the Zionists support [US war policy] and thus support the corollaries of that policy—namely the restoration of Hitlerite-Fascist conditions, and the establishment of bloodthirsty Fascist regimes imbued with wild racial hatred and anti-Semitism."

In a January 30 broadcast entitled, "Love, Prayer and Dirty Work," Radio Warsaw linked the anti-Zionist and anti-Catholic campaign by denouncing US-Vatican-Israeli relations. The Communist announcer based his commentary on recent news items stating that the Israeli President had sent a congratulatory telegram to Eisenhower, that the former Israeli Minister to Warsaw, Arie Kubovi, had left for the US to lecture in connection with a US loan to Israel, and that the Vatican had commented favorably on Israeli-Vatican relations:

"These three items can be summarized in one sentence: 'Let's love each other.' The reactionary Vatican bastion says this to Jewish nationalist representatives who repeat this while squinting into the dollar-packed Eisenhower purse. In his telegram to Eisenhower, the Israeli President assured him that the Israeli prayer is for true peace. . . . We know quite well what this 'true peace' means. . . . The Vatican is praying for the same kind of peace, a peace of Eisenhower, Ridgway, Krupp and other Wall Street apostles. But the Vatican and Israeli supporters do not limit themselves to prayers: they believe in the principle 'pray and work.'

"Unfortunately for its authors, the results of this work have come to light too soon. The Slansky trial has shown how deeply Zionist agencies are involved in the service of US aggressors. Similar, but even dirtier work, was performed in the USSR by the Zionist doctors. Eisenhower's Zionist lackeys in Warsaw wanted [to give their master] concrete proof of their devotion by supplying information on our factories and mines. No wonder that Kubovi . . . has now been sent to Washington to be rewarded in the form of a loan to Israel. . . . Eisenhower's Vatican supporters also do more than pray: [this is evident] from the Cardinal Mindszenty affair in Hungary, Vatican support of the Bonn revisionists, and the attitude of the reactionary sector of the Polish clergy and their dirty diversionist and anti-Soviet work. The Vatican and Israel are united by the same American purse and the same dirty work."



(In East Germany and other Sattellite countries, Jews are again persecuted.) In the background the sign which was German for concentration camp has been replaced by the Russian word for concentration camp. The picture shows a Commissar, a Red Army soldier, and a Jew. The Jew says: "Comrade Commissar, I was here under Hitler. Is the old number still good?" (He shows the concentration camp number that the Nazis engraved indelibly on their victims' arms.)

From the Yugoslav Pavliha (Ljubljana), January 24, 1953

Anachronism

The Warsaw radio program, "Wave 49," has issued anti-Israel propaganda under the pretext of answering questions on Zionism submitted by listeners. On January 28, "Wave 49" replied to a letter from a working-class student who claimed he had never met a Zionist and was "under the impression that Zionism defended the rights of Jews." The Communist commentator declared that Zionism is a bourgeois-Jewish nationalist movement which tries to prevent Jewish workers from collaborating with other workers in the class struggle:

"... Zionists did their utmost to break the common front of Polish and Jewish workers. They tried to convince Jewish workers that they should not cooperate with Polish workers, but ought to go along with the Jewish bourgeoisie because they were united by a 'common aim.' ... Zionism has been unmasked as a stubborn enemy of Socialist countries, which abolished all racial as well as national oppression and secured full rights for the Jewish people. ... The Zionist Government is

combatting the Communist Party of Israel with great zeal. [This Party] is the only Party which defends the rights of the working people, both Jewish and Arab, and fights against the Zionist Government which has sold itself to American imperialism."

In answer to another letter, the Polish commentator declared:

"... As a result of the historic victory of the Soviet Army, the people's democracies have been established in Central and Southeastern Europe. [They] have eliminated national oppression and persecution and given the Jewish masses equal rights and opportunities to take part in building Socialism. [Therefore] Zionism as an ideology has no *raison d'être* and cannot play the role of 'defender.' The Jewish people neither need nor wish to be defended [because they] recognize the people's democracies as their own countries. Because Zionist organizations have lost their *raison d'être*, Zionist agents try to conceal their activities under the disguise of the 'welfare' organization 'Joint' and take advantage of Israeli diplomatic missions. The Polish Government stopped [hostile Zionist activities in Poland] by a stern note of December 19. ..."

"Social Democrat Traitors"

Since last June, when Hungarian Communist Minister of Defense Mihaly Farkas launched a bitter campaign against Social Democrats, this group has been under constant attack in the Stalinist press. The drive reached unprecedented intensity last month with diatribes directed not only against Social Democrats in Hungary, but in all parts of the world. The main charge was that Social Democrats had betrayed the workers and their own national interests by aligning themselves with "Western imperialists" and aiding them in their "war plans for world domination." Such assaults can be explained partly by the fact that the Communists are disappointed with the falling off of Communist adherents in Western Europe and wish to prevent a similar reaction in Asia. Many of the current denunciations appeared in connection with the January Rangoon Conference of the Social Democrat Parties of Burma, India, Pakistan, Japan, Indonesia, Malaya, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Egypt. In a commentary on this meeting, the Communist daily *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), January 26, declared that Socialist leaders in Asia merely pretend to oppose the West because they want to deceive the rank and file Socialists:

"Imperialist reactionaries keep plotting to stifle national freedom movements in their colonies and satellites in order to strengthen their own position. They assign an important role to right-wing Socialists ... whose servility has made them pliant tools of capitalist bigwigs. ... It is not because [Asian Socialist leaders] are more revolutionary than their European colleagues, nor because they truly seek to protect their peoples' interests ... that they oppose the imperialist colonists. [These Socialists] have always been traitors to their countries and to the workers. ... Right-wing Socialist leaders in Asia are ... forced to hide behind leftist slogans, fake revolutionary phrases, and catchwords about na-

tional independence, democracy and freedom in order to mislead the [simple rank and file] members of Socialist Parties."

On January 25, Radio Kossuth denounced French and Japanese Socialists for supporting US policy:

"With the assistance of right-wing Social Democrats, the French bourgeoisie are intensifying their war efforts. . . . With increasing vigor, the French people . . . are protesting the control of Franco and American imperialists. Because of this, right-wing Social Democrats have been ordered to follow the tactic of secretly supporting American policy while overtly pretending to oppose it. . . . There is evidence to prove that Japanese Socialists are American agents. . . . Misikono, leader of the right-wing Social Democrats, vigorously supported rearmament at the Party Congress. He proposed that Japan join the Americans in Korea."

On January 30, *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest) blamed Hitler's rise to power on the German Social Democrats, claiming that they had refused to support Communist resistance and had indirectly encouraged Von Papen: "The Social Democrat leaders treated the Fascists with kid gloves. At the same time, they crushed the true democrats and prevented the creation of an anti-Fascist workers' front. Finally, right-wing Socialist leaders delivered their country into the hands of American, British and French business trusts and prevented the establishment of closer relations between the Soviet Union and Germany."

No Imagination

The regime also continued to denounce industrial sabotage allegedly perpetrated by Social Democrats in Hungarian factories. For instance, Radio Kossuth, January 6, said:

"The danger of Social Democracy is often underestimated. At the hemp mill in Nagylak, right-wing Socialists tried to incite workers against the regime. . . . The workers in the Ujszeged hemp mill recently learned of norm frauds inspired by right-wing Socialists. Thus, Mrs. Istvan Nyari was found guilty of tampering with the counting mechanism on her loom. By adjusting the figures, she pocketed extra wages."

And on January 25, Radio Kossuth said:

"Right-wing Socialists are sworn enemies of the people's happiness and youth's future. They proved this . . . during the Horthy regime when they were able to pursue their treacherous activities freely, when they turned the best of Hungarian youth over to the police. Since then, the wolf has not turned into a sheep, but has become even more savage. It is obvious that young people who have spent their apprenticeships in freedom cannot imagine what it meant when Social Democrat foremen, acting in the interests of capital, helped lower wages and thwarted young people's ambitions. Therefore, we must explain that the traitors, the capitalist lackeys, are still pursuing the same goals. Hatred must be kindled in the hearts of the young, because this hatred

is . . . righteous self-protection, and the guarantee of a free and happy future."

"Pardon the Expression"

Attacks against US leaders and domestic and foreign policies were also featured in the anti-West campaign. Several excerpts will throw light on current Kremlin diatribes. One of the sharpest Czechoslovak denunciations of Eisenhower was made by Minister of Education Zdenek Nejedly in a radio broadcast on January 25. Nejedly said, in part:

"Eisenhower delivered his long-awaited inaugural address on January 20. But what a disappointment this was, even to the capitalist world. A long time has elapsed, even in the capitalist world, since a leading statesman has talked—pardon the expression—such rubbish. 'In our search,' he said, 'we beg the Lord for guidance.' So the good Lord will attend to everything. But then what need is there for Eisenhower, who is the President of a state claiming to be a world leader and striving for world domination?"

In a similar commentary on February 5, the newspaper *Rude Pravo* (Prague) ridiculed Eisenhower's "return to God":

"Radio Rome announced that President Eisenhower had joined the Presbyterian Church and been baptized. . . . This is perhaps the first time that the head of the US was baptized while in office. Eisenhower's joining the Christian Church was, of course, more than a private affair. In a telecast, the new American President spoke on the 'Return to God.' He stressed that the Almighty had given his country mighty blessings, such as freedom of profit, thrift, etc. This does not call for special comment. It is only a little surprising that Eisenhower, who in his speeches frequently used the words, God, Almighty, etc., did not become a Christian until January 1953. What does his 'Return to God' mean? Just this: [the desire] to cover up the most base war aims and actions by abusing God's name."

Radio Bucharest, February 4, denounced Eisenhower's policy in Korea and claimed that he intends to extend the war to the USSR:

"Eisenhower, the most ruthless exponent of US reaction, keeps formulating aggressive plans to suit the interests of US millionaires. . . . US imperialists plan to extend the Korean War to the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR. . . . The cannon fodder [Eisenhower counts on] is composed of Chiang's divisions, forces supplied by the traitor Yoshida, and those of the criminal Syngman Rhee. This means putting into effect the aggressive Yankee formula: Let Asians fight Asians. . . . Another example of the US imperialists' crazy dreams of invading China is the aid granted French troops in Vietnam. . . . Despite the Supreme Command's attempts to raise the morale of the forces in Korea, the rank and file are growing increasingly aware of the fact that the Korean War is profitable only to the Wall Street merchants of death. . . . The peoples of the world, who at the Vienna Peace Congress resolutely demanded immediate cessation of the Korean War, protest [Eisenhower's] plans."

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, a Communist target of long standing, is criticized even more vehemently. For instance, in a February 3 broadcast, Radio Prague queried, "Who is John Foster Dulles?" and supplied the following answers:

"The old wily counsellor of international monopolies began negotiations last week with West European Governments in order to blackmail them into ratifying American warmongering plans and treaties. Who is John Foster Dulles? He is the same Dulles, who together with Herbert Hoover, tried to blockade the young Soviet State after the Great October Revolution. He is the same Dulles who . . . acted for the American branch of I. G. Farben . . . and who gave money to Hitlerite organizations in America. He is the same Dulles who . . . in 1940 acted as negotiator for Ribbentrop's agent in America. He is the same Dulles who in 1950, said . . . that the Communists will lose their power in Korea in the near future . . . [He is the same Dulles] who personally directed the assault against the Korean People's Republic."

In a February 8 commentary on Dulles' trip to Europe, Radio Bucharest, following the line set down at the Moscow Congress last October, emphasized the growing schisms in the capitalist camp:

"Warmonger Dulles is visiting Europe at a time when disagreements among the imperialists are increasing. . . . At the same time, Western economies, strained by the armament race, are facing ruin. . . . Because of this, disagreements among partners of the NATO Pact are being aggravated. . . . [In Paris] Dulles encountered quite a few difficulties which were not mentioned in the vague communiques on his talks. . . . According to Reuters, French leaders were more independent than in the past. They asked for greater support for French colonial policy. Mayer and Bidault asked Dulles to exert pressure on London for greater cooperation from the British. Dulles' visit to Paris made it clear that the French people are opposed to the rebirth of the Wehrmacht. . . . Dulles' visit to Europe gave the peoples of Western Europe an opportunity to express their opposition to the Fascist policy of the American warmongers."

And You, Sir?

In an editorial entitled "A Businessman without Re-proach," the Polish newspaper *Wola Ludu* (Warsaw), January 26, commented on the appointment of Charles E. Wilson as Secretary of Defense. Describing Wilson's interview in the Senate after he had resigned his post in General Motors and sold his stock, the newspaper wrote:

"The following question was posed:

"'Could you sir, as Minister of Defense, make a decision incompatible with the interests of General Motors?'

"'The interests of General Motors,' Wilson replied with conviction, 'are identical with those of the US.'

"The Senators were astounded by Wilson's attitude. Everything that he possessed he had either sold or 'kept' for his children. . . . Was that not a wonderful self-sacrifice for the Fatherland? Wilson's confirmation by the Senate Committee was voted without difficulty.



rys. H. Brzozowski

(Do rządu Eisenhowera wchodzi w większości ludzie wielkiego interesu)

Mały człowiek do wielkich interesów: — Panowie pozwolą

(The majority of Eisenhower's government is from big business.)
A small man for big interests:—Gentlemen, come in, please. . . .
From *Świat* (Warsaw), February 1, 1953.

The Senators were deeply moved. Because they had before them a patriot who loudly expressed views they themselves hid, a patriot who said that American taxpayers pay taxes to the Treasury in order that money can flow in an uninterrupted stream into the safes of industrial concerns."

II. Wheels Within Wheels

Bureaucracy Soviet-style is a requirement for all Satellite regimes, where government machinery grows increasingly complex and more highly centralized. Both Czechoslovakia and Romania have made recent advances along the road to Sovietization by reorganizing their administrative setups. These changes were characterized by greater concentration of power, multiplication of Ministries and appointments of Soviet favorites. Economic difficulties in Romania were emphasized by the rapid turnover of economic personnel. In Czechoslovakia, the need to increase production was indicated by a revision of Party status which placed the bulk of Party work in factory organizations.

Czechoslovak Reorganization

On January 31, the Czechoslovak Cabinet held an extraordinary session at which it approved an important government reorganization. This included creation of a Government Presidium composed of a Premier and nine deputies who will expedite administrative work and directly control the various Government branches. It also resulted in an increase in the number of Ministries, some of which were reorganized along Soviet lines. Radio Prague, February 2, announced that the reorganization's purpose is to improve economic and cultural work. Accordingly, the Ministry for Fuel and Power has been divided into two Ministries. A Ministry of State Farms will take over work now handled by the Ministry of Agriculture, and a Ministry of Building Materials will handle some tasks of the Ministry of the Building Industry. The reorganization of cultural agencies appears to be more drastic. The Ministry of Information and Enlightenment has been abolished and the Ministry of Education, Science and Art has been divided into a Ministry of Education and Enlightenment and a Ministry of Universities. A State Commission for Arts has been attached to the Government, and a Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries has been created. In addition, a Central Administration for the Printing and Gramophone Industry has been set up at the office of the Government Presidium. An Administration has also been created for the Film Industry. Commenting on these changes, *Mlada Fronta* (Prague), February 3, declared:

"We have increased the number of ministries in order to raise the standard of work performed by leading organs of our people's democratic order, to create a firm basis for the . . . accomplishment of the tremendous tasks our people have set themselves. . . . Soviet experiences have proved . . . that it is better to have smaller and more active ministries with specific tasks rather than one ministry with a huge agenda. . . . An important feature of this [reorganization] is the creation of a new Government Presidium, which now has a chairman and nine deputies . . . who will be [specifically] assigned to direct the work of ministries. This will insure a high level of direction, as well as flexibility and collective work."

The apparent purpose of this reorganization is to tighten administration rather than to purge government leaders. All the Ministers concerned have remained in office and, with one exception, have been promoted to more responsible posts. The Cabinet now has 40 members. The fact that 35 of them are Communists destroys the Communist-promoted myth about a "National Front Government." One government post still differs from the setup in the Soviet Union and other Satellites. That is the office of President of the Republic, not yet abolished. Probably the office of President will eventually be replaced by the Chairman of the National Assembly,* a post usually occupied by a figurehead. This would mean that supreme governmental and executive power would be vested exclusively in

* The supreme legislative body.

the Prime Minister, the Government Presidium and the Cabinet. In giving orders for such a change, Moscow might have to choose between Gottwald and Zapotocky for the post of Prime Minister. Such a choice could be made by another speedy liquidation of "spies and traitors in the service of Western imperialists."

The first reshuffling of the Czechoslovak governmental setup on Kremlin orders occurred in April 1945, when Benes visited Moscow on his return journey to Czechoslovakia from exile in London. This reorganization provided for the establishment of a Government Presidium consisting of a Prime Minister and five deputies who were to be the Chairmen of the six political parties comprising the so-called National Front. The Cabinet then had 25 members and was almost twice the size of the pre-war Cabinet. No further basic changes took place until February 1948. After the Communist coup, there was no longer any need to maintain the Government Presidium as a political body. Consequently, the first post-coup Cabinet contained only three Deputy-Prime Ministers, two Communists and one Social Democrat allied with the Communists.

Changes made between February 1948 and March 1950 reduced the Cabinet to 22 members. However, from 1950 on there was a marked increase in Cabinet size as a result of alignment with the Soviet model. In May 1950, a Ministry of National Security was set up patterned on the Soviet MVD. Further parallels to the Soviet model were drawn in December 1950 when the Ministry of Industry was divided into the Ministry of Heavy Industry and the Ministry of Light Industry. At the same time, the Ministry of Public Works was converted into the Ministry for the Building Industry. A far greater degree of Sovietization was realized in September 1951, when Rudolph Slansky was demoted from the post of Secretary General of the Communist Party. Six new Ministries were created by dividing a number of industrial Ministries. After this reorganization, there were 30 Cabinet Ministers. By the end of 1952, this number increased to 32 following the establishment of a Ministry of Bulk Purchases and a Ministry of Railroads. Before the latest reorganization, 27 Cabinet members were rank and file Ministers. The other five were the Prime Minister and his four deputies. With the new rearrangement, the Sovietization of the Czechoslovak government machinery seems almost complete.

New Party Constitution

Two months after the Moscow Congress and two weeks after the sentencing of the Slansky group, the Czechoslovak Communist Party held a nation-wide Conference in Prague to adopt a new Party constitution and elect new Central Committee members to replace those eliminated during the purges. This reorganization of Party statutes is due chiefly to decisions made at the Moscow Congress and Czechoslovak internal disorders which were most clearly demonstrated in the Slansky trial. Economic failures and the Sovietization of Satellite Communist parties provide the bases for major revisions.

Regime leaders openly declared during the Conference

Shakeup of Romanian Communist Government

JULY 5, 1952	Ana Pauker dismissed as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Simion Bughici appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.
JULY 13, 1952	Ion Vidrascu appointed Minister of State Farms (new Ministry).
AUGUST 21, 1952	Vasile Marza dismissed as Minister of Health. Octavian Berlogea appointed Minister of Health.
SEPTEMBER 12, 1952	Ana Pauker dismissed from Vice-Premiership.
SEPTEMBER 20, 1952	Alexander Draghici appointed Minister of State Security (new Ministry). Pavel Stefan appointed Minister of Internal Affairs. (Formerly, Minister of Forestry). Pascu Stefanescu appointed Minister of Meat, Fish and Dairy Industries (new Ministry).
OCTOBER 4, 1952	Nicolae Popescu-Doreanu dismissed as Minister of Public Education. Appointed Chairman of the Committee for Arts.
OCTOBER 27, 1952	Ion Nistor appointed Minister of Public Education. (Formerly Deputy Minister of Public Education). Constantin Popescu appointed Minister of Forestry. Gheorghe Vidrascu relieved of the Presidency of the Committee for Sports. Manole Bodnaras appointed Chairman of the Committee for Sports.
NOVEMBER 24, 1952	Nichifor Stere appointed Ambassador to North Korea. (Formerly Secretary of the General Confederation of Labor).
DECEMBER 29, 1952	Vasile Pogaceanu (Minister of Cults), Augustin Alexa (Minister of Transport), Petre Costache (Minister of Communal Management and Local Industries), Constantin Mateescu (Minister of the Oil Industry), Mihail Florescu (Minister of Metallurgical Industries), Carol Loncear (Minister of Chemical Industries), William Suder (Minister of the Coal Industry), Stelian Nitulescu (Minister of Justice), Valter Roman (Minister of Posts and Telecommunications), Pericle Negescu (Minister of Social Insurance) dismissed.
JANUARY 24, 1953	Gheorghe Vidrascu appointed Vice-Premier. Petre Constantinescu-Iasi appointed Minister of Cults. Ionel Diaconescu appointed Minister of Railways (new Ministry). Anton Vladoiu appointed Minister of Communal Management and Local Industries. Eugen Matyas appointed Minister of the Coal Industry. Mihail Florescu appointed Minister of Chemical Industries. Carol Loncear appointed Minister of Metallurgical Industries. Ion Dumitru appointed Minister of the Oil Industry. Ilie Murgulescu appointed Minister of Higher Education (new Ministry). Formerly only a Committee with Murgulescu as Chairman. Anton Tatu Jianu appointed Minister of Justice. (Formerly Attorney General). Dumitru Simulescu appointed Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. (Formerly Deputy Minister of Electric Power and Electrotechnical Industries). Stela Enescu appointed Minister of Social Insurance. (Formerly Deputy Minister). Ch. D. Safer appointed Minister of Shipping and Air Transportation (new Ministry). Stelian Nitulescu appointed President of the RPR Supreme Court. Augustin Alexa appointed Attorney General. Gheorghe Stere dismissed from Presidency of the RPR Supreme Court. Anton Tatu Jianu relieved of the post of Attorney General. Petre Constantinescu-Iasi and Ion Niculi relieved of the Vice-Presidency of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly. Mihai Mujic appointed Vice-Premier of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly. Gheorghe Marusi appointed Secretary of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly. Marin Florea Ionescu dismissed as Secretary of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly. Ecaterina Borila appointed Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions. Mircea Gherman, Constantin Butaru and Ion Dobre, the same.
JANUARY 30, 1953	

that Czechoslovak Communists must make their Party's structure identical with the Soviet Union's. Accordingly, the new Party constitution keeps pace with changes made in the Soviet Communist Party last October. The supreme Party organ is the Party Congress which convenes at least once every four years and elects a Central Committee and a Central Auditing Commission. The Central Committee in turn elects the Party Presidium which conducts Party business between Central Committee sessions, the Political and Organizational Secretariats, and the Party Control Commission which supervises cadres. However, the salient feature of the new constitution is not the reorganization of top Party organs, but the rearrangement of basic Party units. From now on, Party work in cities will be concentrated in industrial establishments instead of in local organizations set up on a purely territorial basis and now slated to be abolished. However, in rural areas, local "village" organizations will continue to be centers of Party activity, probably because the regime estimates that when agricultural collectivization is completed, local and production centers will be one and the same.

The abolition of local organizations in urban areas was necessitated by production failures and the Party's inability to remedy shortcomings due to organizational deficiencies. Signs of inefficiency were numerous: Party schooling campaigns were unsuccessful, Party officials were apathetic, and Party locals, particularly in old Socialist strongholds such as the Ostrava coal basin, did not obey top Party commands. Besides this, many Party locals ceased to function in the past two years. The Party therefore decided to introduce more centralized control and concentrate its activities in places where failures were most dangerous—that is, in plants and factories.

By setting up a simpler, single line organization and command, the Party probably has several goals in mind. Such revision may result in the more effective use of active Communist officials. Because of the shortage of activists, the same men usually work in both local and factory units. With greater centralization, these officials will probably be less burdened; fewer chairmen, secretaries and propagandists will be needed; and authority will be more clearly established. Further, the Party may gain greater control over its members. Since there will be only one center which assigns Party members tasks, unwilling workers will no longer be able to excuse inactivity in factory organizations by claiming that they have been given jobs in local organizations.

Accent on Production

Most important of all, it is now clear that the Party will mobilize its entire machine to stop the threatening economic breakdown. Party activists will concentrate on increasing productivity and Party units in factories will be held responsible for plan fulfillment. Also, recruitment of new industrial workers is to be facilitated under the new system. Even non-workers residing near an industrial establishment will become members of the plant's Party unit. That rais-

ing the economic output is the main purpose of this change is indicated by a number of editorials in the regime press. For instance, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), January 16, wrote:

"It appears that street organizations still have many members who should actually belong to plant organizations in their places of work. If there is no plant organization where they work, one must be established. . . . According to the new statutes, a Party cell should be set up in an enterprise if there are at least three Communists employed. . . . The demands of industry must be kept in mind . . . so that members of street organizations who until now have not joined in production, i.e., housewives, semi-invalids, pensioners, etc., will eventually find suitable employment in such enterprises. . . . The transfer of every member and candidate must be discussed individually with him and with the plant organization."

Earlier, on January 7, *Rude Pravo* (Prague) emphasized the Party's major role in the "struggle for plan fulfillment." The newspaper insisted that Party organizations must "encourage workers to exceed the plan and must educate the masses . . . in the Communist concept of work, increased savings, reduction of production costs and higher work productivity."

The newspaper *Pravda* (Bratislava), January 13, also emphasized economic tasks and denounced previous violations of State discipline which had damaged Slovak production. The newspaper cited the example of the Novakov Combined Works, where the Party organization had permitted the construction of a mine to lag behind the construction of a power plant; consequently, coal for the plant had to be transported from another area at considerable cost. "This can only be called . . . damaging State discipline. According to the new statutes [such violations] will be punished by expulsion from the Party."

Party leaders have also stressed the importance of improving political work in connection with the new reorganization. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), January 20, announced that propagandists will be assigned to every house in cities and every street in towns in order to "educate" workers in domestic and foreign policy and school them in the "proper Socialist attitude."

Shakeup of Romanian Cabinet

For the past year, the Romanian Communist Government has been subjected to continuous reorganization. The first major changes were made in the thoroughgoing purge which began last March when Vasile Luca was removed from the Vice-Premiership. However, even after this purge had reached its climax in June with the removal of Ana Pauker as Foreign Minister, new dismissals and appointments continued to be reported. Between June and the end of September, when the new Communist Constitution was adopted, there were 14 significant personnel changes. Eight others occurred between September and January 24, when an extensive shakeup of the Cabinet was announced. (See chart.) This latest measure includes the dismissal of six Cabinet Ministers and the appointment of seven new

ones. Besides this, four officials have been promoted to the rank of Minister and four Ministers have been shifted to other Cabinet posts. It appears that the main purpose of this reorganization is to make the Government setup correspond with those of other Satellite regimes and individual Soviet Republics. Further, the new appointees have apparently been selected from among those closest to Moscow. For instance, Gheorghe Vidrascu, believed to be a Russian under an assumed name, was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Vidrascu has not held a Ministerial post previous to this but has been active chiefly behind the scenes. Similarly, another Soviet favorite, Ilie Murgulescu, recently returned from a two months' visit in Moscow, was named to head the newly established Ministry of Higher Education. This ties in with rumors that a purge among teachers and scientists is imminent.

Another cause of this reorganization appears to be the economic unrest prevalent throughout the nation. Five of the seven new Ministers were named to economic posts, and four economic chiefs, including the heads of the Oil and Coal Ministries, were among those dismissed. In addition, two economic Ministers have been interchanged, and one new head of an economic department has been promoted from within. This rapid turnover of personnel, and the fact that the new men have been recruited almost exclusively from outside the economic administration suggests Soviet dissatisfaction with Romanian economic progress.

Monolithic Structure

The changes made on January 24 also give some indication of the Government hierarchy. That this is not obvious from the Constitution is typical of Communist methods. In fact, the number and names of Ministries provided for in the new Constitution have been ignored, and the document is already relatively obsolete. However, the current reorganization has cleared up several points perplexing Western observers. It is now clear that the Chairmen of the various Commissions, Committees and Boards for such fields as publishing, films, arts and architecture are actually Ministers of State. Secondly, it appears that all Ministers have equal rank and that any differences in status depend on what Party posts they occupy. From the Party ranks of the present incumbents and the manner in which Government agencies are listed, it seems that the State Planning Commission and State Control Commission rank above the 35 government Ministries and agencies equivalent to Ministries. While these two Commissions are the planning and control organs of the super-Cabinet composed of Gheorghiu-Dej and four Vice-Premiers, the Ministers are subordinate executives responsible for specific fields, which are growing narrower with the steady increase in Ministries characteristic of Communist bureaucratic organization.

New Polish Vice-Ministers

Between December and February, Polish Prime Minister Boleslaw Bierut filled remaining vacancies in the Govern-

ment by naming 19 new Vice-Ministers, four of whom are deputies to Parliament. The new appointees are:

Jan Ptasiński	Ministry of Public Security
Stanisław Piotrowski	Ministry of Culture and Art
Jan Wilczek	
Władysław Wicha	Ministry of State Control
Stefan Kuhl	
Jan Gorecki	
Bolesław Goronski	Ministry of Foreign Trade
Jan Kiljanczyk	Ministry of Internal Trade
Stanisław Bukowski	Ministry of Shipping
Piotr Stolarek	
Franciszek Kaim	Ministry of Foundries
Ignacy Borejdo	
B. Kozusznik	Ministry of Health
B. Bednarski	
Kazimierz Olszewski	Ministry of the Chemical Industry
Wiktor Drozd	
Adam Kowalski	
Jan Szaban	Ministry of Light Industry
Leon Chain	Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare

The appointment of Chain, a Jew, is significant in view of the Government's recent anti-Zionist attacks. Chain is Secretary General of the Democratic Party and a member of the Central Committee's Political Commission. He is also Deputy Chairman of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society.

Other Government changes included the dismissal of Karol Akerman from the post of Vice-Minister of the Chemical Industry for "neglecting his duties." It is difficult to judge whether Akerman was dismissed for some specific mistake or whether he was made responsible for general failures in the economic plan for his sector of industry. It was also recently announced that Mieczysław Lipert had resigned from the post of Chairman of the National Council of Warsaw Province. This "resignation" was probably due to poor results in the collectivization campaign and non-delivery of State quotas.

New Chairman of Polish Youth Union

According to recent refugees, a new Chairman was appointed to head the Union of Polish Youth last November. This change was effected in secrecy and no mention of it was made in the youth daily. However, the new appointment was indirectly confirmed at the recent Congress of Peace Defenders. One of the participants was listed as Stanisław Nowocien, Chairman of the Union of Polish Youth. Previous to this, Nowocien was known as Secretary of the Union's Executive Committee, and the Chairman was Władysław Matwin, named to this post in 1949. Matwin, an old-time Communist who served in the Red Army in Russia during the last war, was "delegated" to the Polish Patriots Union and Berling's Army. After the war, Matwin was made secretary of the Communist Provincial Commit-

tee in Warsaw and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. One month after he was relieved of his post as Chairman of the Youth Union, Matwin became first Secretary of the Warsaw Committee of the Communist Party. Both he and Nowocien are deputies to Parliament.

In Poland, as well as in other parts of Eastern Europe, the post of first secretary of a District Party Committee carries great weight in the Communist hierarchy. Although theoretically the first secretary is concerned only with Party administration in his district, his authority actually extends over the entire State administration in his district. Nomination to this post is a sign of Party favor and usually means that the incumbent is on a crucial rung of the ladder to Party power. Once he reaches this position, he has good chances of becoming a Minister or a leading Party official. In the recent Polish elections all first secretaries were elected to the Sejm. Under the assumption that their names may assume greater importance in the future annals of Polish Communism, we list them below.

Jan Trusz	Gdansk
Walenty Titkow	Warsaw district
Wladyslaw Matwin	The city of Warsaw
Leon Stasiak	Lodz district
Jan Ptasinski*	The city of Lodz
Stanislaw Krupa	Olsztyn
Jerzy Pryma	Cracow
Jozef Kalinowski	Lublin
Antoni Kuligowski	Wroclaw
Feliks Baranowski	Bydgoszcz
Stefan Misiaszek	Poznan
Jan Jablonski	Szczecin
Mieczyslaw Elczewski	Koszalin
Grzegorz Wojciechowski	Bialystok
Jozef Olszewski	Katowice
Roman Nowak	Opole
Feliks Lorek	Zielona Gora
Stanislaw Pawlak	Kielce

III. GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

Recent events in Eastern Europe included trials of "parachutist-spies" in Poland, oil executives in Romania, and "saboteurs and Anglo-American agents" in Czechoslovakia. The Bulgarian Government passed a law intended to prevent escapes across the border by providing for severe punishments of runaways and their families. Celebrations in Poland, a Bulgarian Fatherland Front meeting, and a Latvian decree for a new national flag, all revealed the constant emphasis placed on Soviet leadership.

Besides staging infrequent show trials of purged government leaders, Communist regimes continually prosecute

*Ptasinski has been transferred to the post of Vice-Minister.

various "saboteurs, kulaks and diversionists" for anti-State activities. These trials have become an habitual feature of Iron Curtain life and are conducted month after month in the stereotyped pattern of Communist denunciation. Although the Slansky trial was the major event in Czechoslovakia in the past few months, the regime also sentenced a number of other people for sabotage and resistance. Three "kulaks" were tried before the State court in Trebic, Moravia, on December 13, for "hampering the cooperative movement." According to the indictment, the accused threatened and planned to kill cooperative officials in order to prevent them from carrying out their tasks. One defendant confessed that he had tried to discourage farmers from joining the cooperative by setting fire to a cooperative haystack. The group was also accused of murdering the wife of one of the defendants because she wanted to join the cooperative and because they feared she would betray them. Two defendants were sentenced to death, and the third was sent to prison for 25 years.

A correspondent has reported that another trial took place in Moravia between December 9 and 11. Ten men were accused of sabotaging railway and electric power lines in Vsetin, distributing illegal leaflets, and maintaining contacts with foreign espionage agencies. Three defendants were sentenced to death and executed on December 13. One defendant was condemned to life imprisonment, and the others received prison terms ranging from 16 to 23 years.

White Legion

A trial held in Hostinne between December 19 and 21 gave new information on the activities of the White Legion resistance movement. From the testimony, it appears that the group, originally reported to be operating in Slovakia, has penetrated as far as northern Bohemia, where it has found supporters. According to *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), December 23, eight men were sentenced for carrying out terrorist attacks against Party and Government officials, distributing subversive leaflets, conducting sabotage, and "sheltering dangerous criminals" (White Legion members) whom they intended to smuggle into West Germany. Three of the accused were sent to prison for life, and the others for periods ranging from ten to 23 years.

In a broadcast of February 18, Radio Prague reported on an Ostrava trial of "nine conspiratorial agents of British Intelligence," indicted for high treason and espionage. All the accused "confessed" to the charges levelled against them. Chief defendant Bohumir Micek described how he communicated with the British Embassy through a secret letter box system and a transmitter. The organizer of the group was alleged to be the former Secretary of the British Embassy, Gardner, who was expelled from Prague in 1951. According to the prosecutor, "Western imperialists attempt in every conceivable way to interfere in Czechoslovak internal affairs" and misuse diplomatic privileges to conduct subversive activity. Micek and another defendant were sentenced to death. Two other defendants received life imprisonment, and the rest were sent to prison for terms ranging from 12 to 25 years.

In a two-day trial beginning February 18, the Polish regime sentenced to death two "parachutist-spies" allegedly dropped on Polish territory by an American plane last November and arrested one month later. (See February 1953 issue, p. 6.) This incident was the subject of a protest note to the US Government and of an anti-American exhibit in Warsaw, where the "spies'" equipment, which supposedly included a walky-talky, cameras, arms, instruction, and codes, was displayed. The prosecutor described one of the defendants, Skrzyszowski, as a deserter from the Polish Army who escaped to Germany in 1951 and entered an American espionage school. The other defendant, Sosnowski, allegedly escaped from Poland in January 1952 and underwent similar training. Both men "admitted" their guilt. The American Government, however, has denied all knowledge of the incident.

Trial of Romanian Oil Executives

In a three day trial which ended on February 12, a Romanian military court sentenced 23 oil men and an ex-Cabinet Minister to prison on charges of high treason and espionage for the West. The group, which included Alexandru Alexandrini, Minister of Finance in 1946, was accused of sabotaging the Romanian oil industry in a conspiracy organized by former King Michael. The defendants, who were former executives and technicians in British and American controlled firms in the Ploesti oil fields, confessed both to spying activity and to hampering the development of the Communist oil industry, now consigning 95 percent of its output to the Soviet Union. Alexandrini and five other defendants were sentenced to life imprisonment, and the other eighteen defendants were given sentences ranging from 3 to 25 years at hard labor. According to the indictment broadcast over Radio Bucharest, February 10, Anglo-American Intelligence directed the work of this group:

"Information was sent to London through the American Legation, conspiring with the British Consulate in Bucharest. The spies were given monthly subsidies by London Intelligence. . . . The defendants . . . were entrusted with the task of sabotaging oil production in order to weaken industrial power, bring about a change in the regime, and cause popular discontent with oil supplies. Because of this sabotage, oil production after 1945 decreased by over 50 percent in comparison with normal production. . . . Documents also prove that owners of British and American oil companies supplied the Nazi war machine with oil. . . . Imperialist trusts also sabotaged investments in oil fields. Defendant Alexandru Alexandrini, former Minister of Finance, confessed that he fully supported spying and sabotage carried out by British and American oil companies. In March 1946 he granted them, without previous Cabinet approval, 210,000,000,000 lei and 20,000,000,000 more lei later on, thus contributing to inflation."

According to an exiled journalist, it is surprising that Gheorghe Vasilichi, an adherent of Gheorghiu-Dej, and Minister of the Oil Industry from 1948 to 1951, was not among the accused. "What the Communists intended was

to find scapegoats for present petroleum shortages on the home market, and even more important, an explanation for non-delivery of Soviet quotas. While Vasilichi is known to be largely responsible for the current oil situation, the defendants have had no effective power at all since 1945 both because of the war and the Soviet stranglehold on the Romanian oil industry even before nationalization."

Vasilichi was removed from his post in April 1951, and has not been heard from since. It may be that Gheorghiu-Dej wanted to protect his reputation by indicting a group for carrying out sabotage between 1945-47. Such a trial, however, can hardly explain away the present plight of the oil industry.

"People's Judges"

A frank admission that the Czechoslovak Communist regime does not recognize the independence of the judiciary was made by Minister of Justice Stefan Rais in an editorial printed in *Rude Pravo* (Prague) on February 5. This article appeared in connection with the coming elections of so-called people's judges who are appointed for two year terms. According to Rais, court decisions play an important part in the political education of the masses, especially with regard to "strengthening work and State discipline, without which the success of Socialism cannot be imagined." The people's judges not only protect State interests but disseminate regime propaganda against "kulaks" and other victims of Communist persecution:

"The people's judges . . . see that laws are explained and applied . . . in accordance with the [interests] of the People's Democracy. . . . People's judges have the same [status] as professional judges and by their numerical superiority . . . have a decisive influence in senate courts. Through their committees of trustees, the people's judges are in close contact with the courts and take part in all decisions on important judicial matters. They discuss cases with the people . . . reveal the characteristics of hostile kulaks, and teach their fellow citizens to increase vigilance."

Whereas Rais deals only with the general role of the people's judges, the January issue of the medical monthly, *Zdravy Narod* (Bratislava), revealed that the people's judges must see that harsh verdicts are imposed on anyone opposing Communist aims:

"As kulaks hamper the socialization of villages, so a number of doctors want to discredit our unified medical service. Drs. Alexander Lednar, Ladislav Meszaros and Rudolph Homola . . . were recently indicted before the Senate of the Penal Court in Nove Zamky . . . [because] they arrogantly refused [to take part] in Socialist building. . . . Lednar was sentenced to 20 years in prison, Meszaros, 14 years, and Homola 19 years. This case was not the last in our struggle against the most dangerous saboteurs of our health service. . . . [People's judges must bear in mind the serious situation when they . . . decide on the length of sentences.] They must realize the importance of building up our health welfare service in accordance with the Soviet pattern so that all distrust of the quality of service in public health institutions is eliminated."

Anti-Escape Law

On February 10, the Bulgarian Communist Government passed a law stipulating that anyone who escapes from the country illegally will be considered a traitor and punished by death. The law also states that anyone who knows about an intended escape and fails to inform the proper authorities in time will be imprisoned and fined. Also, anyone permitted to leave the country for a specified amount of time and failing to return within this period will be given the death penalty. These amendments to the penal code, reported by *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), February 12, are an attempt to prevent illegal escapes across the border by intimidating potential escapees and their families. The law also applies to Bulgarian exiles living in the West. The text of the amendments reads as follows:

"Any Bulgarian citizen who . . . leaves the country without permission from the proper authorities, or any Bulgarian citizen, including military personnel, who leaves the country with permission . . . but fails to return in due time, is a . . . traitor to the Fatherland and will be punished by death.

"Any person, including relatives of the traitor, who knows of preparations for a secret departure . . . and who does not inform the proper authorities in time will be deprived of his freedom for 5-10 years and will be fined 10,000 *leva*. The rest of the adult members of the traitor's family living with him or supported by him at the time of his escape, will be deprived of their civil rights and will have all or part of their property confiscated. Administrative measures will [also] be applied: [these people] will be sent to labor educational camps or interned."

Cocked Ears and Clenched Fists

A meeting of the National Council of the Fatherland Front was held in Sofia on February 5 and attended by representatives of District Committees throughout Bulgaria. The session discussed future activities of the organization and means of improving work. Prime Minister Chervenkov made a speech in which he recommended expansion and consolidation of Fatherland Front activities and pointed out the need for vigilance. As quoted by Radio Sofia, February 5, Chervenkov placed strong emphasis on the fact that the enemy has not been stamped out: "We must keep a watchful eye, a cocked ear and a clenched fist and not be deluded by enemy camouflage. We must bear in mind that as our successes grow, enemy methods become more . . . unscrupulous." Chervenkov also recommended increased activities for women: "No form of activity among women should be neglected if it contributes to their political education and active association with Fatherland Front work. [The activities] of Turkish women are significant . . . and must be expanded." Chervenkov further insisted that all Fatherland Front officials who underrate the Communist Party be eliminated from the organization. "Men who tend to underrate the Party must not be left in leading Fatherland Front posts. It is essential that these posts be held by staunch believers in the Fatherland Front

cause, by stalwart fighters who further the victory of that cause." In the conclusion to his speech Chervenkov stressed that the Bulgarian people's interests lie in unity with the Soviet Union:

"The Fatherland Front . . . has fought and will continue to fight selflessly in the ranks of the powerful camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union and Great Stalin. . . . This is where the national and vital interests of the Bulgarian people lie, and this struggle will be crowned with success."

Revolution Needs . . .

Stalin's 73rd birthday was celebrated in Warsaw on December 21. An impressive ceremony was organized at the Polish Theater under the direction of Chief Council of State, Alexander Zawadzki. The main speaker was Vice Premier Stefan Jedrychowski, who echoed familiar phrases proclaiming Stalin the leader, teacher and friend of humanity." All dailies and periodicals printed Stalin's photograph on the front page and, as usual, special poems were written for the occasion. One of these, broadcast over Radio Warsaw, December 21, read as follows:

"A magnificent envoy of history
Leader of centuries' semaphores—
Revolution needs no glory
Or loud-mouthed glaring metaphors
Revolution needs a machinist
Him—
The Comrade, the Leader, the Communist
Stalin."

The 29th anniversary of Lenin's death was commemorated on January 20 with equal pomp and solemnity. A meeting was held in the Council of Ministers' building and attended by the Politburo, the Council of State, the Cabinet, and political parties, press organizations and Party activists. The main address was delivered by Wladyslaw Matwin, former President of the Union of Polish Youth. As quoted by Radio Warsaw, January 21, he said:

"Every day, the working class comes into contact with the bourgeoisie, and cannot help being influenced. The bourgeoisie . . . stupefies, terrorizes and often succeeds in infecting backward workers with the conviction that capitalism is omnipotent and victory of the proletariat [impossible]. . . . Those who succumb to bourgeois ideology infect the workers' movement with the virus of social democracy. . . . Under the leadership of Boleslaw Bierut, the Party crushed opportunism and Gomulka-ism. Comrade Bierut leads our Party on the infallible path of Lenin and Stalin. . . . The Lenin of today is the closest fellow-fighter of Lenin, Comrade Stalin. . . . Long Live Stalin."

On January 17, the Polish Communist regime celebrated the eighth anniversary of the "liberation of Warsaw." In an editorial on this event, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) paid tribute to the Soviet Army and Soviet leadership in the usual elegaic style.

"The liberation of Warsaw by the heroic Soviet and Polish soldiers frustrated the vile calculations of enemies

of the nation, and signifies the triumph of the ideas proclaimed by the Polish Workers Party. . . . During the reconstruction of Warsaw, our nation learned, . . . the truth about its mortal enemies, the American imperialists, who are today organizing the new Wehrmacht and making plans to use it for new crimes. . . . [In rebuilding] the walls of our capital, our nation learned the truth about its friends . . . the Soviet people, who supplied thousands of machines for Warsaw buildings, who supplied us with installations for the car factory, Warszawa [etc.]. . . . Today, Poland is no longer isolated and September 1939 will never be repeated in our history. . . . Today, People's Poland constitutes a powerful link in the peace camp, which is growing . . . under the leadership of the great Soviet Union, under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, the standard-bearer of peace. . . ."

Perfect Expression

On January 18, Radio Riga reported that the Supreme Council of Soviet Latvia had issued a decree approving a new national flag. According to official descriptions, the flag is red, white and blue, and has a five-point star and a gold hammer and sickle in its right-hand corner. Previous to this, the flag of Communist Latvia was like the USSR's except for its emblem and inscription. The Kremlin has evidently introduced this change in order to create a fiction of Latvian national independence. For instance, the newspaper *Cina* (Riga), January 18, commented as follows on the new decree:

"The decree on the new Latvian flag will go down in history as a clear confirmation of the Soviet people's friendship. The Lenin-Stalin Party's wise national policy

finds new expression in this banner. . . . The flag of bourgeois Latvia expressed only fictional independence and disclosed Fascist terror and the dirty deals of bankers and bourgeois exploiters. . . . The Soviet Government, the Party and Comrade Stalin have today given the Latvian people a dear and sacred gift, a new flag. It is the perfect expression of Latvian independence, freedom, and . . . national culture."

The third plenary meeting of the executive committee of the Latvian Communist Party was held on January 15 and 16. The main point on the agenda was the need to improve political education in rural areas. In discussing this aspect of Party activity, the secretary of the executive committee, Arvids Pelse, sharply criticized Party officials for negligence and superficiality. As quoted by *Sovetskaya Latvia* (Riga), January 20, Pelse said:

"Propagandists are responsible for educating the broad masses. . . . There are 55,000 such workers in Latvia and 29,500 of them are in rural areas. . . . [However], it must be stated that [many] propagandists do not possess the necessary political and ideological backgrounds. Conditions are especially poor in Liepaja. . . . Further, only 17.5 percent of young Communists take an active part in this work."

Pelse also expressed dissatisfaction with politico-educational editorials in such newspapers as *Bloknot Agitator*, *Cina* and *Sovetskaya Latvia* and complained that the press did little to contribute to political education in rural areas. Party officials promised that such failures will not occur in the future.

Do You Know This Land?

ON January 4, 1953, the Warsaw newspaper *Przyjazn* (Friendship), so called in an unsuspecting moment of irony, announced its new readers' contest named, again ironically, after Goethe's "Do you know this land?" A second question was added, "Where does it happen?" The following is the text of the announcement:

"Every one of Eric Lipinski's drawings symbolizes a specific country, conditions there and characteristic events that took place in the past year. To participate, fill in the numbered parts of the contest coupon on page 15 with the names of the countries appropriate to each drawing. The filled-in coupons should be sent to the editorial staff of the weekly *Przyjazn* at the latest on the 31st of January 1953 in the envelope marked for the contest.

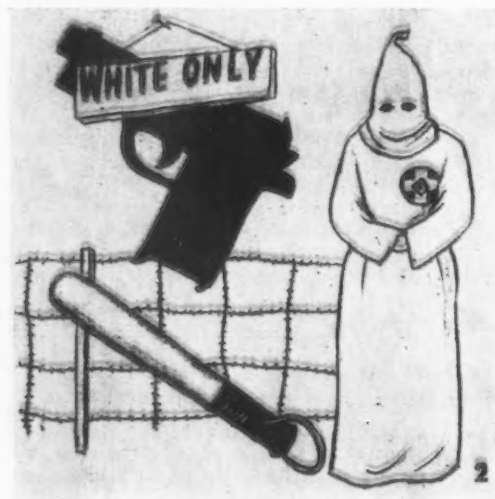
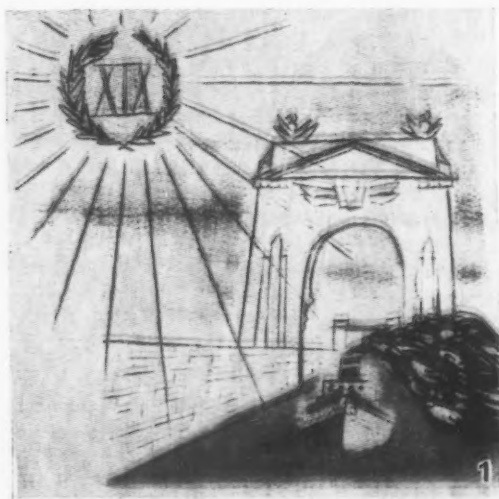
"The following prizes will be raffled off:

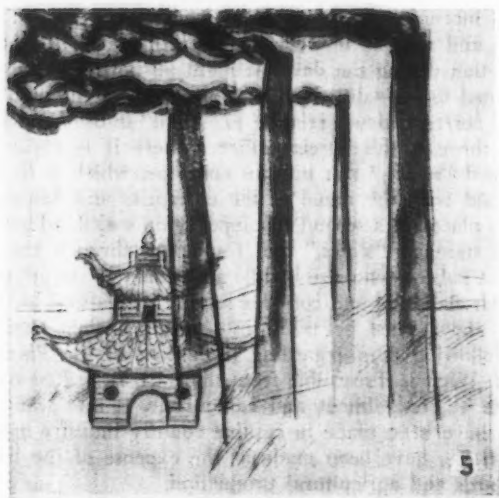
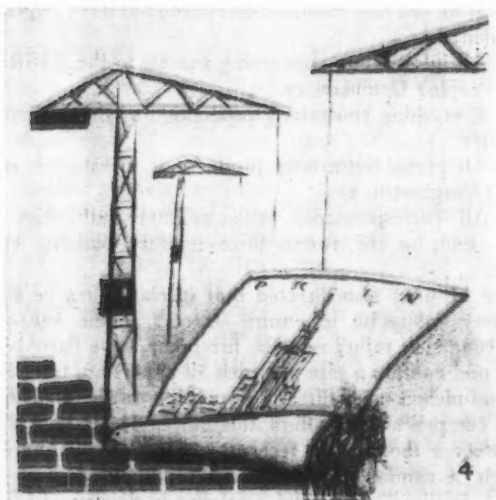
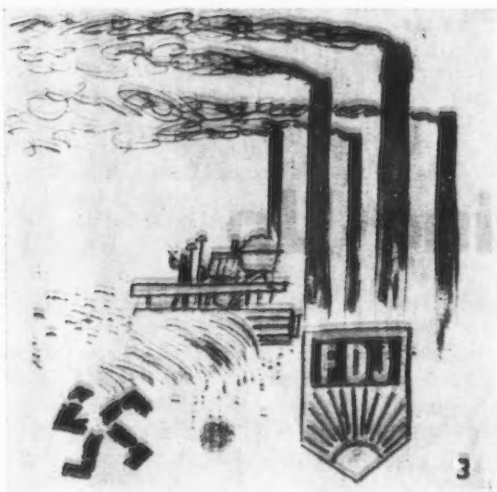
- I. A radio set.
- II. A camera.
- III. A leather briefcase.

"Many other consolation prizes will be awarded in the form of tickets to the House of Books."

Below and on the following page are reprinted eight of the ten drawings to be identified. Number 1 depicts the USSR in a pastoral mood, with a laurel wreath surrounding the Roman numerals XIX (for the 19th Party Congress) whose rays extend outward like the sun's. Number 3 shows a peaceful East German Republic (symbolized by the shield and the initials FDJ—*Freie Deutsche Jugend*) with grain being harvested, factory chimneys smoking, and a broken swastika in the foreground. Number 4 depicts Poland and its new plans for a Palace of Culture and Science (PKIN) for which construction blueprints have recently been drawn up. Number 5 shows a peaceful Red China.

The cartoons graphically symbolize the virulent hate-America campaign that the Communists have kept at fever pitch since the beginning of the cold war. Noteworthy is the fact that three of the four anti-American cartoons are devoted to splitting the NATO alliance and that all of them depict Americans as imperialists, warmongers, pro-Nazi, racists, and uncultured barbarians.





The Summing-Up

I. NINETEEN FIFTY-TWO

As early as October 22, 1948 the Bulgarian Council of Ministers issued a decree (No. 148) describing data considered "State secret." Subsequently published in the *State Journal* No. 286 (Sofia), December 6, 1948, it read in part:

- "A. Military Information—all data.
- B. Economic Information

Industry:

- 4—Number and distribution of workers.
- 5—Planned production and fulfillment of the Plan in absolute figures.
- 6—Industrial and statistical accounting.
- 8—New plants; plans, location, capacity, type of production.

Agriculture:—absolute figures on sowing, livestock, production. . . .

Planning, Accounting, Statistics

- 1—Absolute figures on the Five Year Plan.
- 2—Statistical data on industries, agriculture, commerce, construction, finance, transportation, economic balance, reserves.
- 3—Statistical data on . . . the increase in population, the military, prices, etc. . . .

Electrification

- 1—Absolute figures on Plan fulfillment, power production, etc. . . .
- 2—Plans, location and output of stations, transformer stations, cables, dams, pumps, etc. . . .
- 3—Results of research work.
- 4—Graphic representation of different plants in absolute figures."

In Poland too, the Ministry of Heavy Industry distributed a circular (Number 72, May, 1951) which required that a "top-secret" stamp be placed on all information regarding plans and other activities of the enterprises under its direction. The circular also directed that its existence be kept secret.

A list of "secret" information considered most important included:

1—All information concerning exports to the USSR and the "People's Democracies."

2—Everything concerning production of the various enterprises.

3—All plans concerning production, investment, economy, enlargement, etc.

4—All correspondence with military authorities and firms, such as the twenty-three military building enterprises. . . .

The Ministry also directed that special offices be set up in every enterprise to ensure secrecy. These *kancelaria korespondencij tajnej* must be fire-proof, have barred windows and contain a safe in which all papers are to be kept. A hand-picked man, directly responsible to the plant manager, comprises the staff of this office. He is paid about 595 zloty a month and receives production premiums although he cannot be considered a productive factor. It is his job to distribute special portfolios to department heads every morning. These portfolios contain all "secret" material and may be used by the department heads at their discretion during the day. At night all portfolios must be returned to the safe which is then sealed for the night.

All correspondence relating to "secret" information must pass through this special office. There it is registered, stamped "secret," put into an envelope, which is in turn stamped with the name of the enterprise and *kancelaria tajna*, placed in a second envelope, again sealed, addressed, again stamped "secret," and forwarded through the UB (secret police) who also handle all incoming "secret" mail.

Such elaborate and complex secrecy regulations as those cited above must be taken into account when studying the following data regarding fulfillment of the Plan for 1952. What is discernible from the start, regardless of attempts at concealment and camouflage, is that whatever gains have been made in captive country industry or foreign trade, have been made at the expense of the living standards and agricultural production.

Bulgaria

During the latter part of 1948, the Bulgarian Communist government published the much-heralded first Five Year Plan for the period 1949-1953. This Plan has undergone a series of changes during the past four years in the government's effort to adjust to Soviet exigencies. After the 19th Party Congress and the announcement of the new Soviet Five Year Plan, the Bulgarian government decided to terminate its Plan by the end of 1952—one year in advance.

Despite claims that the Plan has been overfulfilled, no data have been given on the final results of the first Five Year Plan which was officially terminated on December 31, 1952. Nor are there any data as yet on the goals set for the second Five Year Plan begun on January 1, 1953. However, the percentage fulfillment of the yearly plan for 1952 was broadcast by the Bulgarian Home Service on January 30, 1953:

Ministry	1952	Increase over 1951
Heavy Industry	100.0	18
Electrification	97.0	36
Light Industry	104.0	24
Supply and Food Industry...	95.0	9
Transportation	106.0	11
Construction	110.0	17
Communal Economy and Welfare	95.0	13
Public Health and Social Welfare	105.0	43
Domestic Trade	111.0	12
Book Publishing and Printing.	107.0	20
Union of Artisans Cooperatives	98.0	18

Industrial Production

"In 1952, for the first time our industry produced chemical fertilizers, sulphuric acid, tanning extracts, rosin, cellulose, and other products, all of which were imported in the past. . . . Certain Ministries and administrations fulfilled their over-all industrial plans without meeting quotas for special items: the Ministry of Heavy Industry—for anthracite and lignite, pig iron, reinforcing iron, cement and railroad sleepers; the Ministry of Light Industry—for cotton and woolen fabrics, nails, iron pipe, horseshoes, planks and upper leather; the Ministry of Transportation—for iron construction. Quality improved, but a number of enterprises . . . allowed defective goods to be produced. The spasmodic production efforts of certain enterprises have not been eliminated.

"The total volume of industrial production has risen 18 percent over that of 1951 and compares with 1951 as follows:

	Percentage
Electric power	134
Coal	116
Ore	140
Concentrates	138
Pig Iron	146
Reinforcing iron	123
Lead	220

DIKOBRAZ SE VÁS PTÁ:
NEDĚLÁTE TO TAKÉ TAK?



VYHLAŠOVÁNÍ ZÁVAZKU.



... A JEHO PLNĚNÍ.



Caption: *Dikobraz* asks you:

Isn't this just the way you do it?

Top picture:

Announcement of obligations

Bottom picture:

... and their fulfillment

Dikobraz (Prague), December 18, 1952

Internal combustion engines	147
Electric motors	125
Cement	108
Paper	109
Meat	117
Canned	342
Fish (canned)	152
Tobacco products	116
Cured tobacco	134
Tractor cultivators	165
Tractor plows	105
Tractor seed drills	202

"In 1951, 59 percent of our coal production was mechanized. In 1952, this was increased to 64.5 percent. Transport—88 percent mechanized in 1951—rose to 91.5 percent. The mechanization of farming increased. In 1952, 28.2 percent of all arable land was harvested by machine—6.2 percent more than in 1951—and 16.8 percent of the harvest was handled by combines a 12 percent increase over the previous year.

Agriculture

"The total amount of arable land was considerably expanded as compared with 1951. The area sown with industrial crops was increased 9.2 percent; cotton—40; oriental tobacco—19.3; fodder—36.2; alfalfa—30; and vetches—70.

"Despite unfavorable climatic conditions, which chiefly affected the yield of industrial crops, average yields were satisfactory. Gross production of cereals was 11.3 percent higher than the average gross production for the period 1948 to 1951. Grain production was 27.4 percent higher than from 1948 to 1951. Plans and pledges for the application of agrotechnical measures were not fulfilled by a number of branches of our agriculture. As a result, the plan for agriculture products was not fulfilled.

"The average yield per decare obtained by the cooperative farms exceeded the average yield of the private farmers as follows—in percentages: wheat—12.6; rye—9; barley—12.8; corn—35.8; cotton—20.7; sunflower seeds—19.8; and sugar beets—22.3.

"In 1952, our rural economy was supplied with 787 tractors, 801 combines, 500 threshing machines, 1,703 tractor-cultivators, 1,477 seed drills, 201 harrows, 226 fertilizer spreaders, 400 hay rakes, 254 seed-cleaning machines, and 2,009 plows. Fertilized areas have been increased 38.4 percent. In comparison with 1951, the use of fertilizers has been increased 88.2 percent. The number of farm livestock has been increased as follows—in percentages:

	Cooperative	State-owned
Cattle	7.6	23.2
Sheep	14.6	35.4
Pigs	99.3	76.9
Poultry	97.5	40.8

"3,214 cattle-breeding farms have been set up at cooperative and State farms.

Transport and Communications

"The loading plan for freight cars was fulfilled 100.3 percent. The Plan for transportation of passengers was fulfilled 109 percent. 5.6 million more passengers were

transported in 1952 than in 1951. As a result of the introduction of new methods of work the rolling stock of the railway has been improved.

"Despite successes achieved in a number of technical and economic indices, there is some lagging with regard to fulfillment of the annual Plan. The turn-over of freight cars was fulfilled only 86.7 percent. The water transportation loading plan was fulfilled in tons by only 97.8 percent and in ton-kilometers by 100.6 percent. . . . truck transportation was unsatisfactory. The plan for freight transportation by truck was fulfilled only 83.9 percent.

"Postal services were expanded. The plan was fulfilled 101 percent, and 19 percent more postal services were offered than in 1951. The radio network was also expanded. Compared with 1951, the number of central radio receivers increased 47.6 percent and the number of home receivers 84.1 percent.

Retail Turn-over

"The retail turn-over plan was fulfilled 101.3 percent. . . . 22.2 percent more goods were sold than in 1951, including—in percentages:

Rice	76.4
Potatoes	17.0
Sugar	9.3
Sugar products	20.4
Vegetable oils	13.5
Cheese	23.2
Eggs	126.0
Cotton fabrics	68.0
Woolen fabrics	53.7
Silk fabrics	57.6
Cotton knitwear	128.1
Stockings	153.3
Shoes	86.7
Galoshes and rubber overshoes	25.3
Cowhide shoes and sandals	46.9
Soap	12.2

Labor

"There were 47,709 more workers and employees in industry, construction, transportation and trade than in 1951. Of these, 37,068 were workers. The number of workers and employees engaged in industry for the same period increased by 18,972, of which 14,619 were workers.

A former Bulgarian economist adds these comments:

"The most interesting fact about this report is that no data are given on the crop or on the fulfillment of the plan for agriculture. It is true that inclement weather during the last year—a cold wave in May, drought in July and September—had a very bad influence on the crop. Yet, this seems insufficient reason for the complete lack of information on achievements in the agricultural field. The reasons for this censorship seem to be two: First—the extremely poor crop, far below expectations, due not only to the weather conditions, but to resistance among the Bulgarian peasantry (See October 1952 issue, pp. 24, 25). Second—the obligations undertaken by the Bulgarian Communists towards the USSR and the captive countries to export huge quantities of grain."

Czechoslovakia

It has become apparent that Czechoslovak economy, Communist-planned for the past four years, is facing increasing difficulties. The present situation is perhaps best reflected in the restrictive measures introduced at the turn of the year, such as ration cuts (see page 32) and increased taxation, as well as in the decline in earnings and savings and the breakdown of dairy bulk buying. President Klement Gottwald underlined these difficulties and expressed his discontent with the fulfillment of the 1952 Plan in his New Year's address to the nation, published by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), January 2, 1953: "No one can say that we should be satisfied with the development of our economy. After all, we all feel the shortcomings of heavy industry as well as those of agriculture and supply. Nor can we ignore the fact that we lag behind in over-all fulfillment of the Plan. . . ."

Nevertheless, the published report of the State Statistical Office indicates the following industrial production increases over 1951:

Industry	Percentage Increase
Gross	18.3
Heavy	27.3
Light	10.0
Pig iron	19.7
Crude steel	26.9
Rolled steel	16.6
Electric power	13.3
Hard coal	9.7
Soft coal	10.3
Coke	12.9
Cement	7.0
Heavy machinery	36.8
General machinery	39.7
Chemical	20.3

Other increases include:

Volume of investment	16.7
Heavy industry	43.0
Light industry	7.0
Transport	15.0
Other	35.0
Freight	
Rail	6.5
Road	75.0
River	13.0
Labor force	4.6
Industrial	1.7
Productivity	15.5
Wages	11.0
National income	15.0
(Government investments equal 30 percent of total)	

Although few absolute figures are included, those given, combined with others mentioned by President Gottwald in the address cited above and in another delivered at the December Party conference, help to present a fuller picture of Czechoslovak economy in 1952:

Production

Crude steel	3,700,000 metric tons
Hard coal (approx.)	20,000,000 metric tons
Soft coal (approx.)	33,500,000 metric tons
Electric power	11,000,000,000 Kwh.

Industrial Construction

Hydroelectric plants	4
Blast furnaces	3
Martin furnaces	6
Open hearth furnaces	3
Gas furnaces	4
Coke smelters	3
Assembly line areas	1,115,000 sq. metres
Other constructions	1,107,000 sq. metres

Agricultural Collectivization

Cooperatives (types III and IV)	5,274
Agricultural land	2,000,000 hectares
Arable land	1,400,000 "

The general machinery industry produced only 88 percent of planned output; foundries and ore mining—94 percent; the food industry—96 percent; the building industry—97 percent; and fuel production—98 percent. All other industrial sectors fulfilled their plans by more than 100 percent.

However these figures must be considered in the light of Prime Minister Zapotocky's remarks in *Rude Pravo* on December 24, 1952: "We usually discover that in practice it is the gross production plan which is fulfilled and that the Plan is exceeded in the production of less important articles, while plans for machines and other products, important to our national economy, are not fulfilled. . . . [For example,] the CKD—Stalingrad plant [Prague] fulfilled the gross plan . . . by 92 percent, but met specific quotas by only 54 percent."

Specified products which were not produced in the quantities called for by the Plan were listed in *Rude Pravo*, January 30, 1953: ". . . hard coal, iron, manganese and copper ores, pig iron, crude steel, rolled consumers' goods, steel castings, certain types of steam boilers, steam and water turbines, Diesel motors over 100 mm. in diameter, turbo-generators, transformers and relays, nitrogen fertilizers, cement, bricks, etc."

Poland

According to the communique of the State Planning Commission for the year 1952, published in the Polish press on January 29, the Plan for Socialized industry was fulfilled by 98 percent. Total industrial production rose by 20 percent over 1951 and was 14 percent greater than the quota originally provided for in the Six Year Plan. Industries which failed to fulfill the Plan were listed as follows: coal output—99 percent; machine industry—in the production of lathes, rolling stock, tracks, etc.—93 percent; chemical industry—in the production of sulphuric acid, artificial fertilizers and soda—93 percent; light industry—in the production of cotton textiles—99 percent;

building materials and the production of cement and bricks—98 percent.

Production

The following table is a comparison between some of the planned and achieved production increases over 1951 (in percentages):

	Planned Increase	Achieved Increase
Pig iron	26.2	13
Steel	19.1	14
Rolled products	20.7	10
Iron ore	20.0	14
Copper ore	62.0	55
Coal	5.0	3
Brown Coal	19.7	4
Rolling stock	11.1	3
Cement	21.5	—1
Bricks	45.7	10
Machine tools	30.2	12
Sulphuric acid	39.0	25

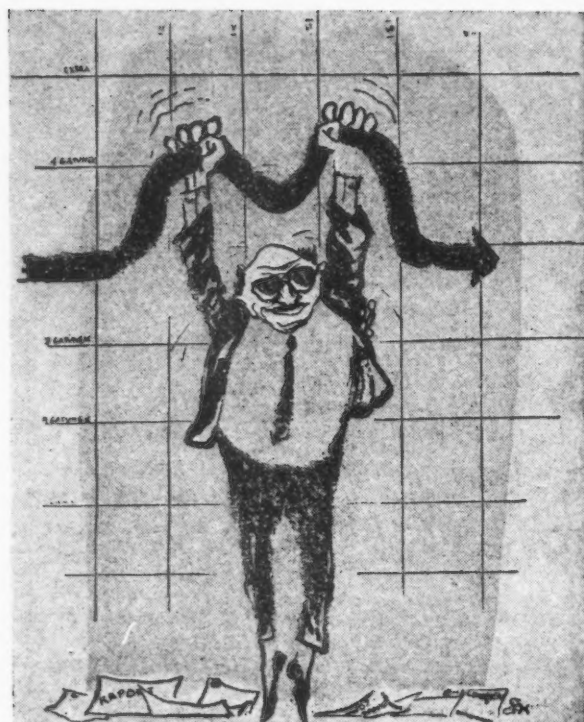
Along with such articles as artificial fibres, dies, furniture, salt, wine, etc., commodities which over-fulfilled production quotas were:

	Planned Increase	Achieved Increase
Zinc ore	10.3	18
Natural gas	8.0	13
Electric power	12.6	14
Tractors	41.2	45
Coke	15.7	16

450 large and medium industrial projects have reportedly been completed and the manufacture of 100 types of machines and installations never before produced in Poland has been started. Among such domestically produced equipment are new kinds of machine tools, heavy machinery, coal mining and agricultural machines, as well as new types of railway rolling stock. Products turned out in Poland for the first time include high grade cast iron, steel products, tin plate and steel tubing, as well as new pharmaceuticals, new types of electrodes and new fertilizers.

Capital Construction

The volume of capital construction fell short of the Plan, increasing by 22 instead of 29 percent over 1951. Among the more important industrial projects constructed are a huge blooming mill at the Bobrek Iron and Steel Works, two open hearth furnaces and the first section of a pipe rolling mill at the Bierut Iron and Steel Works in Czestochowa, a coke smelting plant at the Kosciuszko Iron and Steel Works, two new coal mines, new additions to the Dychow electric power plant, the Zeran Passenger Car Factory in Warsaw, a truck plant in Lublin, as well as new textile dye, cement and other factories. In the housing industry, 111,600 new dwelling units were constructed instead of the 118,000 required by the Plan.



rys. Szymon Kobylinski

Woda wyzej!

"One of the most dangerous symptoms of softening Party and State discipline is the fact that some officials hid the truth about the real state of affairs in their plants and institutions, making the results of their work look better." From George Malenkov's speech at the Moscow 19th Party Congress.

Caption: High-Water Mark

From Szpilki (Warsaw), December 21-28, 1952

Agriculture

In State farms, as in industry, percentage increases over 1951 differ from those called for:

	Planned Increase	Achieved Increase
Harvest of four chief grains ..	22.1	4
Cattle	28.7	0
Sheep	51.9	13
Pigs	81.5	3
Total production	39.4	15

The agricultural area was extended by approximately 351,000 acres. The number of new kolkhozes is twice that of 1951, totalling 4,900* with an area of 1,000,000 hectares. It is interesting to note that failures in agricultural production occurred in spite of the fact that the government over-fulfilled the agricultural supply plan in such items as fer-

* On February 21, 1953, the Polish radio, in reference to a speech delivered by Minister of Agriculture, Dab-Kociol, at the National Conference of Agricultural Cooperatives, said that 3,000 delegates "representing 5,600 cooperatives" attended—an increase of 700 since the end of 1952.

tilizer—4 to 9 percent according to kind—and tools.

The planned increase over 1951 in the volume of goods transported by rail and truck fell short 9.3 and 18.8 percent respectively. However, the total volume of goods transported rose 4 percent (rail) and 17 percent (truck). Freight on inland waterways increased by 48 percent over 1951 and sea transport rose 12 instead of 24.6 percent as scheduled.

The communique also stated that 324,000 persons were employed by industry during 1952, approximately fulfilling the Plan. But it is difficult to relate this increase in employment with failures to fulfill production quotas.

No mention is made of any reduction in industrial overhead, although the Plan for 1952 called for a reduction in costs of 5.4 percent.

The report further claims that the turnover of goods in "Socialized" retail trade was 3 percent higher than 1951, although the Plan called for a 10.4 percent increase. In spite of this failure and the failure of agricultural production, the communique attempts to give the impression that food supplies were greater than planned. For example, the supply of bread allegedly increased 25 instead of 4.8 percent, vegetable fats, 22 instead of 15.3 percent, butter, 16 instead of 9.6 percent.

A clue to the fulfillment of the Plan as a whole (not mentioned in the communique) can be found in the figure for the increase in national income which is considered equivalent to gross national production in the captive countries. National income was reported to have increased by 10 percent over 1951; a 17 percent increase was expected. It is therefore possible to conclude that the entire Plan for 1952 was fulfilled by about 60 percent.

Apropos of non-fulfillment, Prime Minister Boleslaw Bierut, in a speech printed in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 2, 1953, stated that: "Last year, for the first time in the short but important history of our coal mining, the Plan was not completed." He observed that "Perhaps the targets were set too high," but added that targets were adapted to "the actual rate of extraction in previous years [and that] the planned increase of four million tons was . . . fully justified and practicable."

He then referred to "technical backwardness" inherited from the rule of the bourgeoisie, the lack of sufficient improved machinery, the need for elimination of waste, and "the greatest enemy of the Plan and the miners—the persistent lack of labor discipline"—as reasons for these failures.

Romania

On January 23, the Romanian Home Service broadcast the communique of the State Planning Commission and the Central Statistical Directorate on State Plan fulfillment for 1952, issued the previous day. The first section of the report, dealing with industry, stated that the total Plan production target was exceeded by 1.7 percent, and included a breakdown into Ministries, most of which have exceeded their over-all quotas by from one to 18 percent. A comparative list of those industries which achieved the lowest gains follows:

Industry	1950	1951	1952
Total Plan	104	104.5	101.7
Oil	98.2	107.9	101.6
Coal	96.0		97.3
Construction and Building			
Materials	—	—	101.6
Local	—	100	92
Food	90.4	101.1	101.6
Meat	80	42.1	71
Milk	—	—	
Fish	—	—	
Central Union of Consumer			
Cooperative Enterprises	—	94.2	91

The communique further stated that although quantitative results were satisfactory in most sectors, "improvement in quality was not followed up in sufficient measure. Moreover, some Ministries have fulfilled and overfulfilled the overall production plan without, however, completely fulfilling the tasks outlined for some main products." For example, "the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials Industry did not fulfill the plan for cement and lime . . . [and] the Ministry of Food Industry did not fulfill the plan for sugar and vegetables." Such criticism throws a revealing light on the Communist practice of comparing percentages of Plan fulfillment with results achieved during the preceding year and not with current production targets.

Production Increases

Part two of the statement listed the chief industrial production increases over 1951 (in percentages):

Electrical energy	117.6	Lead	110.8
Crude oil	128.9	Cement	131.9
Unprocessed Coal	112.3	Lumber	105.2
Iron ores	136.9	Sugar products	124.6
Complex ores	129.4	Meat	138.2
Pig iron	111.5	Cheese	133.7
Steel	108.0	Butter	163.3
Sheet metal	115.9	Fresh fish	114.9

The Ministries responsible for the production of two of these items—cement and sugar—are criticized in Part One for failing to fulfill the Plan, an unexplained contradiction.

"As compared with 1951 the overall production of Socialist industrial production increased 23 percent. In 1952, in accordance with the State supply plans, the national economy received more raw materials, fuel, electric energy and equipment than in 1951. Use of the production capacity of equipment in industry continued to improve. . . .

"In the textile industry the utilization index of looms increased 1.6 percent for cotton and 2.1 percent for wool. As compared with 1951 the consumption of raw material, materials, fuels, and power per unit of production decreased in 1952 in some branches and savings were achieved, which contributed to the lowering of production costs.

"Thus, as compared with 1951, in the steel and iron industry the consumption of pig iron and scrap iron per ton of steel was reduced 5.5 percent, and that of coke per ton of pig iron 1.6 percent. In the oil industry the

consumption of sulphuric acid per ton of crude oil subject to processing decreased 15 percent and that of caustic soda 9.6 percent. In the coal industry the consumption of mining timber was reduced 1.6 percent in the removal of ores and 8.5 percent in the construction of galleries. In the chemical industry the consumption of methane gas per ton of soot was reduced 16.7 percent. In the electric power industry consumption in the production of electric power was reduced 5.9 percent. However, planned norms were not fulfilled for the plan indexes in the following: consumption of metallurgical coke per ton of pig iron, of explosive material in mine excavation, and of ammonia per ton of sulphuric acid."

Agriculture

In agriculture, the rhythm of collectivization has been speeded up so that the number of farms now totals 1,795. (In 1951 less than 100 new collectives were formed.) The surface area of these farms has also increased two and one-quarter times and the number of families living on them rose from 65,800 in 1950 to 120,000 by September 1, 1952. Mechanization has progressed and 30 new machine-tractor stations were set up and equipped, raising their number from 188 in 1950 to 218 in 1952. The report also claims that:

"State farms, collective farms, and common tilling associations obtained yields superior to those of individual farms. In the State farm in the Rashnov commune, Stalin Region, 2,841 kilograms of autumn wheat were produced per hectare as compared with 980 kilograms in the individual peasant farms. The Pavel Tkachenko collective in the Carcaliu commune, Galati Region, yielded 4,300 kilograms of barley per hectare as compared to 800 kilograms. . . . The common tilling association in the Dochia Commune, Bacau Region, yielded 1,800 kilograms of autumn wheat per hectare as compared to 1,000 kilograms. . . ."

Percentage increases were also claimed for the number of animals added to collectives and for the fulfillment of forestry and land reclamation plans.

Transport

In transport "the freight transport plans was fulfilled 109.2 percent . . . railway transport 111.1 percent. . . . Despite all the improvements obtained, some technical and economic indices have not been fulfilled. The plan of freight transport by motor cars was fulfilled 106.8 percent, which represents an increase of 50.9 percent as compared with 1951."

With respect to the circulation of goods, the communique stated that "the supply for the working people improved, as shown in the increased sale of foodstuffs and the enlarged range of industrial goods." Again, only percentages are given, but statements issued on February 2, 1951 and February 1, 1952 contained figures for goods planned for and actually distributed during 1951, and provide a basis for the following tabulation.*

* Thus only 5 oz. of bread per capita per day and under ½ oz. of fish per capita per day were planned for and even these meager quotas were not fulfilled.

	Metric Tons		
	1950	1951	1952
Bread	660,000	780,000	868,140
Meat	71,325	140,000	203,280
Fish	6,000	10,500	12,560
Butter	1,800	2,500	4,580
Edible Oils	33,500	55,400	62,380

These figures must be considered in relation to officially acknowledged failures to fulfill some of the planned food quotas. It is difficult to believe that the deliveries of meat and fish, for example, have markedly increased over the 1951 level when the plan for this sector was fulfilled only 71 percent. Nevertheless, the report alleges that deliveries of meat and fish have increased over 1951 by 45.2 and 19.6 percent respectively.

Hungary

The yearly report of the Hungarian Central Bureau of Statistics on Plan fulfillment was published on January 20, 1953. An analysis of this report, together with speeches delivered by Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi and Deputy Prime Minister Erno Gero and other information, reveals that as in the other captive countries, although a tremendous effort was made resulting in the approximate fulfillment of the "global plan", serious shortcomings exist in the production of vital products.

The most important Plan fulfillment figures, as compared with 1951, were given as follows (in percentages):

Total industrial production	100.7
Heavy industry	99.8
Light industry	101.4
Food industry	103.1

Production

The 25 percent increase in total production called for by the Plan was not achieved. Increases were given as:

	Percent
Total production	23.6
Heavy industry	33.3
Light industry	10.5
Food industry	16.1
Mining	25.0
Smelting	20.1
Machine industry	35.9
Building material	19.6
Textile industry	8.6
Garment industry	17.9
Electric power production	19.3

Industrial enterprises under the control of various Ministries fulfilled the Plan as follows:

Mining and power	101.2
Smelting and machine industry	100.6
Semi-heavy industry	91.9
Light industry	101.4
Food industry	103.0
Building industry	101.8
Transportation	99.4
Home industry	105.4

Local industry (directly controlled by the State)	104.0
Industrial cooperatives	109.1

Production in the building industry rose 19.5 percent. Production increases achieved by enterprises controlled by the Ministries of Construction, Transportation, and Home Industry were 8.5, 29.0, and 17.5 respectively.

Plan fulfillment for specific items was given as follows:

Coal	122.8
Electric power	119.3
Steel	113.1
Cast iron	126.7
Rolled rod steel	125.6
Rolled steel casts	113.0
Turning lathes	108.4
Locomotives	91.0
Freight cars	112.6
Trucks	166.3
Diesel motors	129.4
Machine and engine oil	130.7
Truck tires	134.8
Bricks	126.9
Lime	113.3
Cement	111.5
Fireproof material	120.1
Motorcycles	106.1
Radio sets	128.8
Cotton material	104.8
Silk	104.8
Flax and hemp materials	107.4
Leather shoes	115.2
Flour	106.3
Meat, bacon, fats	128.2
Soap	106.1
Cigarettes	121.8

"The cost of production decreased 4.2 percent compared to 1951 which is less than called for in the Plan."

Unlike 1951, this year's report failed to include production results for tractors, electric appliances and bulbs, wool, suiting, women's coats, or alcoholic beverages, presumably because this production failed to meet its quotas. Nor was any information given regarding bauxite, aluminum or crude oil. However, data concerning the latter were furnished by Gero: during the first ten months of 1952, the production of crude oil exceeded that of 1951 by 17.6 percent, bauxite by 60 percent, and aluminum by 15.3 percent. It may be assumed that this proportion did not change appreciably in the last two months of the year.

It was also claimed that the Plan was considerably exceeded in the production of sheet metal, steel strips, steam turbines, high combustion automobile engines, machine lathes, drills, agricultural chemicals, bricks, glass, slaked lime, cottons, artificial silk, bacon, sausage, etc.

Coal production rose 3.5 million tons (a total of 18.8 million tons) over 1951, but "quality was not satisfactory." Although coal production over-fulfilled the Plan by 1.3 percent, there is a general scarcity. Mechanization of coal production "is not satisfactory." There is a cement shortage—as was pointed out by *Szabad Nep* several months ago—owing to the non-completion of the Hejocsaba cement fac-

tory. "The lack of organization in the construction of the factory caused at least as serious damage as the negligence in planning."

Agriculture

In agriculture, the report pointed to the "expansion of the Socialist sector" and to increases in the number of livestock (19 percent more pigs and 9.5 percent more cattle), but admitted numerous deficiencies. Thirty-seven percent of all arable land was socialized. Members of agricultural cooperatives were required to work an average 50 percent more "work units." As revealed by Rakosi, the wheat crop (17 million metric quintals) fell short of the average yearly yield by 3 million metric quintals. Forestation did not meet planned quotas in spite of an increase of 5,000 acres. Although lumber production was fulfilled 100.3 percent, there is a shortage of firewood and beams and planks used in mining.

Transport

Rail transportation increased as follows: Passenger traffic—only 1.8 as compared with 30.1 in 1951; freight—26 percent; coal—30 percent; rolled steel—67.3 percent; ground grains—31 percent. The 1951 report included information on transport of potatoes and vegetables, but made no mention of these commodities in 1952.

Meat production reportedly increased 17.9 percent; bread—24.6 percent; sugar—2.3 percent; men's shoes—8.6 percent; women's shoes—13.1 percent; furniture—37.8 percent; radio sets—35.4 percent.

No mention is made of retail trade in flour, fats, or women's and men's clothing. Ninety-nine percent of retail trade has been nationalized; the number of State stores has increased by 3,919 and the number of cooperative stores by 990.

Labor

"The number of workers and employees rose to 2,295,000—203,000 more than in 1951. . . . The number of persons employed in industry and in building increased by 117,000. In 1952, the total amount of paid wages, not including the wage increase in December 1951 [prices rose 80 percent simultaneously], exceeded those for 1951 by 23.5 percent." Industrial labor productivity rose 10.6 percent. In 1951 it increased 14.3 percent and in 1950, 20.1 percent. The Five Year Plan calls for a productivity increase of 92 percent by 1954 as compared to 1949.

The sum appropriated for investments was "23.2 percent greater than in 1951. . . ."

New plants built include the *Tiszamenti Vegyiművek* (war industry chemical plant), *Malyi Teglagyar* (brick yard), *Hajdusagi Gyógyszergyár* (pharmaceutical factory), *Sztafinvárosi Tuzallo Teglagyar* (fireproof brick factory), *Szolnoki Tejüzem* (dairy), and others.

"The first coal-grading machines in Komlo and Oroszlany, the new shaft in the Balinka model mine, the largest iron smelting furnace (700 cubic meters) and a large capacity roller machine at the Diosgyor Smelting Works have been put into operation.

"The November Seven Power Station received new installations. New workshops have been added to the Kiskunfelegyhaza Mining Installations Factory. New furnaces have been built for the building material factories. The Kaposvar Spinning Mill received 40,000 new spindles, the Kobanya Spinning Mill 16,000 and the Lorinc Spinning Mill 15,000.

"Agricultural machinery increased by 1,700 tractors, 500 combines, and around 25,000 other kinds of machines.

Electrification

"The number of new electrical installations increased as follows:

Villages	92
State farms	58
Cooperative farms	62
Machine stations	22

"And telephones have been installed in all villages which have independent councils."

The Five Year Plan calls for electrification of 1,512 villages by 1954. So far, electricity has been installed in only 380.

"Many new bridges, viaducts, highways, and railroads have been built. The Budapest Petofi Bridge and the new railroad line between Lakitelek and Kunszentmarton have been opened to the public. The Budapest-Ferencváros, the Miskolc and other railroad stations have been enlarged."

The 600,000 square meters of apartments reported built represent approximately 15,000 apartments. There is no private building. The target of 220,000 new apartments by the end of the Five Year Plan is still 85-90 percent short. The report mentions that building costs have risen, and that construction of many important buildings called for in the Plan has not been completed.

"National income . . . exceeded that of 1951 by 4.7 percent, [but] because of the poor crop failed to meet its planned target." 86.6 percent of the national income is derived from the "Socialist sector" (State enterprises and co-operatives), whose share amounted to 76.5 in 1950 and '51. The share of the "capitalist sector" has dropped from 5 percent in 1951 to 1.7 percent.

Albania

The official communique of the State Planning Commission on the fulfillment of the second year of the first Five Year Plan was made public on February 4, 1953, by the Albanian radio:

Industry

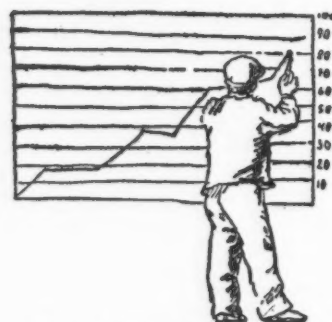
"The overall industrial plan was fulfilled 105.8 percent. The respective Ministries fulfilled their . . . plans as follows:

	Percent
Ministry of Mines	97.7
Ministry of Industry	103.0
National	101.1
Local	109.1
Ministry of Construction	95.2
Ministry of Collection (flour mills)	91.7

НАЙ-ЛЕСНОТО

Годината изтича, а планът е неизпълнен. Планът е едва към 80 на сто. Какво да правим?

Това е най-лесното. Бате Стършел



"The year is gone and the Plan is fulfilled by only 80 percent. What shall we do?"

"That's easy. Brother Sturshel is thinking of you. Take a pencil and continue the line on the graph to 100 percent."

"Ready! Ha, congratulations on the new production year. Now eat, drink and be merry."

From Sturshel (Sofia), January 1, 1953, under the ironic title "The Easiest Thing":

United Handicraft Cooperatives	119.2
United Consumer Goods Cooperatives	119.0

"Industrial increases over 1951 were as follows:

	Percent
Chromium	115.3
Electric Power	163.9
Plows	234.4
Iron Implements	155.3
Cement	105.8
Sugar	287.2
Coal	148.6
Copper (mineral)	198.9
Copper (concentrate)	159.0
Gross Petrol	122.2
Benzine	113.9
Lighting Kerosene	133.6
Fluid Asphalt	123.4
Natural Asphalt	99.3
Pure Asphalt	124.4
Cotton Textiles	525.9
Cotton Thread	250.5
Thick Hides	102.6
Thin Hides	103.3
Shoes (rubber)	144.0

Agriculture

In agriculture, the communique claimed an increase of 3.6 percent in the area sown. Autumn sowing quotas were fulfilled 105.7 percent in the State sector, 104.2 percent in the Cooperative sector, and 106.9 percent in the Private

sector. A breakdown of specific crop fulfillment was also included:

Crop	Area Sown
Wheat	101.7
Corn	104.9
Rice	127.7
Cotton	111.3
Sugar beets	116.8
Tobacco	100.9
Vegetables	153.1

No figures were given regarding productivity per hectare, although productivity figures were contained in the 1951 communique.

Production

Planned production in the State sector was fulfilled as follows (in percentages):

Wheat	113.3
Corn	40.7
Rice	118.3
Tobacco	126.0
Vegetables	100.7
Milk	85.2
Cotton	60.5
Meat	95.5

Production increases over 1951 were also listed:

	Total	Cooperative Sector
Wheat	174.2	142.5
Cotton	86.0	101.3
Sugar beets	113.7	64.4
Vegetables	105.6	63.7
Milk	89.3	—
Meat	118.7	—
Corn	—	113.8
Rice	—	122.7
Tobacco	—	103.7

The number of cooperatives has reportedly risen by 20 percent. Fulfillment of the collecting (stockpiling) plan was far below requirements in many instances:

	Percent
Wheat	90.4
Corn	75.1
Rye	105.2
Cotton	64.9
Sugar beets	59.4
Barley	106.0
Beans	48.2
Rice	83.8
Meat	88.5
Eggs	53.9
Hides	80.0

The forestation plan was fulfilled 168.2 percent, according to the report.

Transport

The circulation of goods and passengers has increased considerably compared with 1951:

	Percent
Automotive Transport	
Passengers	99.0
Freight	96.8
Rail Transport	
Passengers	145.4
Freight	104.4

Investment

The volume of investment was fulfilled 87.3 percent and increased 28.4 percent over 1951. Fulfillment for the main sectors was as follows:

	Planned for 1952	Compared to 1951
Mines	79.6	154.0
Industry	116.7	92.5
Agriculture	70.5	129.6
Education	94.9	—

Various projects such as the ginning factory at Rrogzhine, the Pequin-Kavaje Canal, the tobacco-curing factory at Shkoder, the Tirana radio station, etc., were completed. 58,000 square meters of dwellings, of which 19,750 square meters are for workers, were also reported as finished.

Although the overall turnover of goods over-fulfilled the plan by 6.8 percent, such vital commodities as meat and fish (79.7 percent) and beans and rice (53.5 percent) failed to meet quotas.

The planned number of workers was fulfilled by 92.8 percent—119.9 percent compared to 1951. "The number of Stakhanovites reached 4,030 by the end of the year, while the number of shockworkers increased 41.3 percent over 1951..."

Lithuania

Radio Vilnius broadcast the report of the State Statistical Board on fulfillment of the 1952 Plan. According to the report, the total industrial plan was fulfilled by 100.3 percent. Those industries belonging to the USSR met plan quotas 97 percent and those belonging to local authorities—101 percent.

Plans for separate provinces were fulfilled as follows:

	Percent
Vilnius (excluding the city)	98
Kaunas	102
Klaipeda	162
Siauliai	97
City of Vilnius	101

Fulfillment percentages were also given for the following products:

	Percent
Peat	118
Electric power	95
Steam turbines	116
Machine lathes	106
Electric motors	114
Electric meters	92
Lime	89
Plaster	103
Firewood	112

Wine	112
Superphosphates	162
Enameled utensils	72
Cotton thread	99
Woolen fabric	105
Leather shoes	96
Meat	68
Sausage and smoked meat	106
Canned food	95
Soap	49
Tobacco	102
Alcoholic beverages	118
Vegetable oil	113
Granulated sugar	62
Cubed sugar	102

Latvia

On January 25, *Sovetskaya Latvia*, the Russian language newspaper of the Latvian Communist Party, published a page-long survey of Latvian economy in 1952 prepared by the State Statistical Board. The survey lists percentile increases and comments on the fact that some Ministries, while completing the general Plan, failed to produce specified items.

"Industry, Agriculture and Trade have fulfilled the overall Plan by 105 percent. . . . The Ministries of Light Industry, Forestry, Building Materials, Local Industry, and Cooperative associations and Cooperatives of disabled veterans have completed the Plan without producing the required items. . . . 13 percent more goods have been produced than in 1951."

Industrial production was listed as follows:

Product	Percent
Electric energy	99.4
Steel	103.0

Sheet metal	106.0
Electric locomotives	88.0
Electric railway cars	82.0
Cement	99.8
Lime	108.0
Wood (for industrial use)	79.0
Meat	96.0
Fish	100.1
Animal fats	88.0
Sugar	60.0
Cheese (high fat content)	110.0

"The assortment plan was not completed by the Riga cement plant, the Udarnik timber plant, the Popov radio plant, the Jelgava linen factory, the Komunar leather plant, the Serums section of the Cesis building material plant and the May First footwear manufacturing plant. "The trade plan has been fulfilled by 103 percent. A breakdown into specific branches shows the following results [in percentages]:

	Percent
Ministry of Commerce	104
Local market	102
USSR market	106
Union of Latvian Cooperatives	98
Cooperatives fishing associations	111
Disabled Veterans Cooperative Assn.	94
Local industry	121
Food industry	104
Meat and milk industry	88
Fuel (local)	95
Fish	128
Health (pharmaceutical board)	98
Publishing and book-trade	114
Trade associations	100.2



Signs carried under 1952 read from left to right: bureaucrat, low quality, also a bureaucrat, super-bureaucrat, sloppiness. The 1953 banner carried by all reads: We shall certainly improve.

Caption: Will it be possible to disprove the saying that the road to hell is paved with good intentions?

From *Svet Prace* (Prague) January 8, 1953

II. RATIONING

Poland

On January 3, the Polish government published a decree abolishing the rationing system, fixing new price levels for goods and services, and revising wage scales. The main features of this decree are as follows:

The rationing of meat, fats, sugar and soap is abolished. Food prices are set at the level prevailing on the free market at the time of the decree's publication. Prices of manufactured goods, especially those important to the countryside, are considerably increased, as are postal services (an average 25 percent), railway tariffs, electricity (30 percent), artisan services (up to 20 percent), and daily papers (.05 *zlotys*—an average 25 percent). The cost of such commodities as cement, bricks, chalk, china ware, books, toys, musical instruments, hospitalization services, and cinema and theatre tickets, remains unchanged. Rents and the prices of such imported articles as tea and rice also remain the same.

Wages, pensions, and scholarships have also been increased and a detailed list is given. It appears from the decree that the wages of the lowest income group of workers and government employees have been raised by 40 percent, and the highest income group by 15 percent after taxes. Pensions, depending on the category, have been increased 25 to 56 percent and scholarships by 25 percent. Family allowances have been slightly increased and a special milk allowance has been introduced (10 *zloty* for each child below the age of seven).

Regarding agriculture, the decree states that the prices of grain, meat, potatoes and milk, which are subject to the compulsory delivery system, remain unchanged. To "compensate" the peasants, restrictions on trade in agricultural surpluses have been lifted, and peasants are free to sell their surpluses at prices agreed upon between themselves and the buyer. However, this "freedom" carries certain restrictions: peasants are forbidden to sell products to a middleman, and those who wish to sell surplus products must first prove that they have fulfilled the plan of obligatory deliveries to the State.

An exiled Polish economist offers the following commentary on the decree:

"Since the middle of 1951, acute food shortages have developed in Poland. Because the supply of foodstuffs was disproportionate to the demand, government-instituted price controls broke down and prices rose sharply—in some cases more than 100 per cent. In an effort to improve the situation, the government decided to ration certain basic foods, but again the system did not live up to expectations and presently shortages began to be felt in industry. The government continually tried to explain these shortages by asserting that agricultural production does not progress as rapidly as that of industry or the needs of a growing urban population, but according to official statistics, Poland now produces 15 percent more food than before the war, while the population has decreased by 10 million. Therefore, it would seem

that large-scale food exportation and stock-piling are the chief causes of the present shortages. United Nations' statistics reveal that Polish food exports rank second only to coal.

"The newly established price scale lists individual increases of more than 100 percent over those existing on January 1, 1951. The following table compares 1951 prices (in *zlotys*) to those in effect after the publication of the decree and is computed from official statistics, sections of the decree and the Polish press (*Wiadomosci Statystyczne*, August 16 and October 1, 1951; *Gazeta Handlowa*, January 1951 issues; and *Express Wieczorny* and *Wola Ludu*, January 5, 1952).

Commodity		January 1, 1951 (average monthly wage— 500 <i>zlotys</i>)	January 3, 1953 (average monthly wage— 750 <i>zlotys</i>)	Percentage increase
Bread	kg.	1.45	3.00	100
Flower	"	3.00	6.00	100
Butter	"	27.00	55.00	104
Pork	"	8.98	20.33	146-267
Sausage	"	11.68	27.00	131
Lard	"	12.88	35.00	172
Sugar	"	5.25	15.00	278
Soap	"	11.10	20.00	80
Egg		.90	1.60	78
Milk (one liter)		1.36	3.10	125
Coal (100 kgs.)		12.00	30.00	150
Petrol (one liter)		1.50	4.00	170
Tin bucket		10.40	30.00-35.00	188-237
Cotton shirt		45.00	62.00	38
Men's shoes (one pair)		200.00	252.00	26
Man's suit		500.00	610.00	22

"If we add to these the above-mentioned increases in the cost of postal services, electricity, railway transportation, etc., the discrepancy between wages and prices becomes even more apparent.

"When the Six Year Plan was introduced, the government promised that by 1955 the standard of living would increase by 60 percent over that of 1949. The fourth year has begun and instead of rising, the standard of living has gone down. In order to keep the family budget at the same level as in 1951, it is now necessary for two people in every family to work instead of one, and both of them must work harder and longer in order to collect bonuses and overtime necessary to meet the high cost of living.

"As regards the peasants, the accusation that they have enriched themselves by raising the prices of foodstuffs while the prices of manufactured goods remain stable, does not hold. It is true that the peasants sold their surpluses for higher prices than those of 1951, but the bulk of their production was taken over by the State at very low prices through compulsory deliveries, leaving very little room for profit.

"It also appears that the government intends to destroy the last remnants of private food trade. As the peasants are forbidden to sell their surplus to a middleman, owners of private food stores are virtually cut off

from their source of supply and consequently must cease to operate."

Czechoslovakia

When Premier Antonin Zapotocky first announced food ration restrictions on December 10, 1952, he was quoted by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 11: "There will be many who will feel that harm has been done them. . . . Every change causes some difficulties . . . there will always be some people who begrudge change. . . . It is not important whether this or that person dislikes something; it is important that we have the courage to carry out whatever will, in our belief, benefit society. . . . Such resolution must not only exist 'upstairs' in the cabinet and ministries . . . determination and resolution to go ahead and overcome difficulties must also be evident 'downstairs'."

It is questionable whether the consumer will be as determined to "overcome difficulties" as the Prime Minister, as the cuts are considerable and the simultaneous reclassification of persons entitled to draw rations will undoubtedly bring about hardships. The reduced monthly ration of eggs, butter and particularly sugar, compares to 1952 allocations as follows:

Ration Category	Sugar		Butter		Eggs	
	1952	Feb., '53	1952	Feb., '53	1952	Feb., '53
IIa—children						
2-6 yrs.	3 lbs. 5 oz.	3 lbs. 1 oz.	1 lb. 7 oz.	1 lb. 7 oz.	12	12
IIb—children						
6-12 yrs.	3 lbs. 5 oz.	3 lbs. 1 oz.	1 lb. 9 oz.	1 lb. 2 oz.	10	10
IIc—children						
12-18 yrs.	3 lbs. 5 oz.	2 lbs. 14 oz.	1 lb. 9 oz.	1 lb. 4 oz.	8	8
IId—employees	3 lbs. 5 oz.	2 lbs. 10 oz.	9 oz.	4 oz.	4	—
IIe—pensioners	3 lbs. 5 oz.	2 lbs. 3 oz.	9 oz.	4 oz.	4	—
IIIf—others, if entitled to rations	2 lbs. 3 oz.	1 lb. 2 oz.	7 oz.	4 oz.	3	—

Other monthly food rations remain at the 1952 level:

Ration Category	Bread	Flour		Meat	Skimmed Milk (daily)
		(Cooking)	(Baking)		
IIa—children					
2-6 yrs.	—	6 lbs. 1 oz.	3 lbs. 5 oz.	1 lb. 9 oz.	1 pt.
IIb—children					
6-12 yrs.	11 lbs. 9 oz.	5 lbs. 8 oz.	2 lbs. 12 oz.	2 lbs. 12 oz.	1 pt.
IIc—children					
12-18 yrs.	14 lbs. 5 oz.	8 lbs. 8 oz.	4 lbs. 3 oz.	4 lbs. 1 oz.	1 pt.
IId—employees	11 lbs. 9 oz.	8 lbs. 13 oz.	4 lbs. 3 oz.	3 lbs.	¼ pt.
IIe—pensioners	11 lbs. 9 oz.	8 lbs. 12 oz.	4 lbs. 4 oz.	2 lbs. 9 oz.	¼ pt.
IIIf—others, if entitled to rations	11 lbs. 9 oz.	5 lbs. 8 oz.	2 lbs. 3 oz.	2 lbs. 9 oz.	¼ pt.

"HOGTIED"



The men carry signs that read from left to right: *kulak, fence, cheat, speculator* and are bound by a rope inscribed: "The Resolution of the Council of Ministers of January 3, 1953, lifting rationing, regulation of prices, universal increase of wages, and removal of free market limitations on agricultural produce."

From *Wola Ludu* (Warsaw), January 10/11, 1953.

To compensate for the decrease in the monthly butter ration, margarine or lard rations were increased, but not commensurately:

Ration Category	Margarine		Lard	
	1952	Feb., 1953	1952	Feb., 1953
IIa—children 2-6 yrs.	—	—	—	—
IIb—children 6-12 yrs.	10 oz.	1 lb. 2 oz.	5 oz.	5 oz.
IIc—children 12-18 yrs.	8 oz.	14 oz.	5 oz.	5 oz.
IId—employees	15 oz.	15 oz.	5 oz.	8 oz.
Ile—pensioners	15 oz.	15 oz.	5 oz.	8 oz.
IIIf—others, if entitled to rations	12 oz.	16 oz.	4 oz.	4 oz.

The ration of potatoes was not changed, and amounted to 13 lbs. 4 oz. per person in February. However, the ration of candy for children and adolescents up to 18 years was entirely abolished. Last year it amounted to 3.5 oz. of chocolate and the same quantity of hard candy per month. Similarly, the ration of shaving soap (3.5 oz. every three months) for men from 14 years up was discontinued, and so was the ration of toilet soap (3.5 oz. per month for children up to 14 years, every three months for adults), for all categories.

Non-Eligibility

The ration cuts are only one of the new measures which lower nutrition standards in the country. No ration cards whatsoever are issued to businessmen—regardless of whether or not they employ labor, nor to members of their households or persons sharing, even if only partly, the profits of their enterprise, unless they are employed by the State, nor to the so-called village rich, including members of their families, even if the latter work for the state. According to the decree of the Ministry of Domestic Trade of January 14, District National Committees have been ordered to revise ration card lists, and not to issue any ration cards to the "various remnants of capitalist classes, such as former factory owners, bankers, wholesale dealers, share-holders, etc., and pensioned high-ranking bureaucrats from the time of the First Republic and the Protectorate, such as police officers, division chiefs, presidents of regional courts of law, and public prosecutors." The same regulations apply to the issue of clothing points.

Even those who are employed by the state but who own more than one hectare (2.5 acres), or more than two hectares in mountainous regions, are now only entitled to factory canteen rations as are the members of their households. (The canteen ration is 500 grams of meat, 150 grams of fats, 500 grams of coarse flour, 1,000 grams of plain flour and 1,000 grams of bread.) Women who take care of at least one child under 6 years of age, receive the same rations as those employed. If the child is not their own, both parents must be employed by the State. Women who are mothers of one or more children between 6 and 15 years of age are entitled to employee rations only if they work at least part-time for the State and provided they have no household help. However,

mothers in families eliminated from the rationing system (see above) receive no food rations.

Extra rations issued to workers in certain professions (such as miners) have also been cut. Supplementary milk rations issued to workers working with poisons, fumes, etc., have been discontinued, and free-market milk is made available (at higher prices) at the place of work.

Press explanations of the elimination of certain persons from the rationing system were extremely candid. *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), January 21, did not hesitate to remark: "All problems concerning the limitation of the rationed market must be considered from this viewpoint: The rationed market is not and should not be a social institution, for the support of large families, the aged, and so forth. The rationed market is and should be a privilege for those who contribute most actively to our economic development."

Decline in Purchasing Power

Such measures have considerably decreased the purchasing power of earnings and pensions. For, as *Prace* (Prague), January 18 wrote, "with dual prices the amount of money earned by the head of the family is not the only decisive factor, since it is very important what quantity of food and other commodities the family receives on ration". Whatever cannot be bought in the rationed market for lack of coupons, must be bought in the government's free market stores for considerably higher prices. The following is a comparison between recent free and rationed food prices in *koruny* (1 kilogram equals 2 lbs. 3 oz.; 1 litre equals 1.8 pts.; 1 koruna equals 2¢):

Commodity		Rationed	Free
Bread (rye)	Kg.	8.00	16.00
Flour (baking)	"	15.00	35.00
Flour (cooking)	"	12.00	32.00
Farina	"	22.00	38.00
Beef (10% bone)	"	40.-60.	180.-250.
Pork	"	45.-65.	250.-350.
Veal	"	40.-60.	220.-300.
Knockwurst	"	45.00	250.00
Frankfurter	"	55.00	260.00
Salami (Prague)	"	65.00	280.00
Butter	"	80.00	450.00
Lard	"	65.00	450.00
Margarine	"	40.00	240.00
Potatoes	"	1.90	6.00
Rice	"	16.80	300.00
Sugar (cubed)	"	16.00	140.00
Egg	"	3.50	9.50
Milk (skimmed)	Ltr.	5.00	12.00

Apart from exploitation by the USSR and general mismanagement, particularly in foreign trade, insufficient and disorderly cultivation of land seems to be responsible for the breakdown in the food supply. About half of agricultural labor has been transferred into industry. Thousands of acres lie fallow. *Rude Pravo*, January 19, wrote: "For instance, in the Liberec region 2,000 hectares (approx-

mately 5,000 acres) lie fallow." State tractor stations fail to make the necessary machines available. Radio Prague declared on January 24: "... in Ruzomberok, they fulfill their tractor repair plan by 5 percent." According to *Rude Pravo*, January 13, tools confiscated from farmers lie rusting in the fields. Farmers are also antagonized by unreasonable demands for deliveries and exorbitant taxes.

Specifically related to the new rationing restrictions are reports of failures in the milk and egg bulk buying plans.

Prace (Prague), January 31, quoted the Minister of Bulk Buying, Josef Krosnar: "The situation regarding the fulfillment of the milk and egg bulk buying plans for the first twenty days of this year, is serious. The target for eggs ... was fulfilled by only 29 percent ... and for milk, by only 69.4 percent." And Premier Zapotocky stated in *Rude Pravo* on January 28, that "(sugar beet) output per hectare was fulfilled by only 64.4 percent and is the worst in 30 years."



"Did you celebrate the New Year?"

"Sure."

"Then how come you're still deep in the old one?"

From *Dikobraz* (Prague), January 4, 1953

Stalin the Omniscient

THE worship of Stalin has now become a cult in the Satellite regimes, and generally reaches a feverish peak around the dictator's birthday: December 21. Throughout the period of Joseph Djughashvili's birthday, the campaign of honor to "the great Comrade Stalin" is celebrated and everywhere there are photographs, sculptures, and paintings of Stalin. Paeans in his praise are heard on every side as press and radio sing his talents and accomplishments.

Out of these eulogies, the picture of a semi-divine figure is gradually being shaped. Stalin is beyond the normal limitations of mankind, an authority in all fields, whose writings and speeches on any subject are beyond contradiction. Stalin's is the final word in fields as far apart as linguistics and armaments.

Former Politburo member Sergei Kirov was one of the originators of the Stalin cult which has become current in the Soviet orbit. Lenin had been dead for less than ten years when, on the eve of the Seventeenth Party Congress (Moscow, 1934), Kirov promoted Stalin to the top hierarchical position which Lenin had enjoyed.

"Comrades, when one speaks of the services of our Party, of its achievements, one cannot help speaking of the great organizer of the gigantic victories we have achieved. I refer to Comrade Stalin. I must say that he

is a truly accomplished, a truly perfect successor and continuator of the cause. . . . It is not easy to grasp the figure of Stalin in all its gigantic proportions. . . . There has been no major undertaking, slogan or trend of policy of any importance of which Comrade Stalin was not the author. All the principal work . . . is done in accordance with the instructions, on the initiative, and under the guidance of Comrade Stalin. . . . All that goes to direct the construction of Socialism . . . emanates from this man, and all that we have achieved in the period of the First Five-Year Plan has been due to his directions. . . . The mighty will and organizational genius of this man ensure our Party timely accomplishment of the big historical turns involved in the victorious construction of Socialism."*

The technique of adulation was perfected by Kirov's Kremlin successors and was one of East Europe's first lessons in *Führer* worship. Satellite press and radio have since shown that they too understand their assignment in the carefully planned campaign to deify Stalin. The random culling of comments below are exemplifications of the vigorous advertising of J. V. Stalin in the Iron Curtain countries, and give added force to the rapidly developing religion of Stalinolatry.

General Characteristics

"Comrade Stalin is not only leader of the people. He is a great scholar, philosopher and genius. . . ."

Otechestven Front (Sofia), December 21, 1952

". . . But what is most important in his genius? Apart from his great universal knowledge, the greatest perhaps is his humanism, his belief in human prometheism, his belief in the masses. . . ." *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), December 23, 1949

"It is you who gave us our profitable plans
Enabling us to work in honor and liberty,
Enabling the mines to produce coal in abundance.
And me to write poems with pride and dignity."

Esti Budapest, December 20, 1952

* S. M. Kirov, *Selected Speeches and Articles* (Moscow, 1939).

"We see him as a brilliant statesman, scientist, teacher, economist and genius of organization."

Rude Pravo (Prague), September 22, 1952

"J. V. Stalin has the unique calm and confidence of the man who always is the victor."

Contemporarul (Bucharest), April 11, 1952

". . . What wisdom, what modesty, what truthfulness and what force stream from his words. . . ."

Mlada Fronta (Prague), December 21, 1952

"Stalin incarnates in himself the sacred class anger of the working class and her hatred toward those who exploit and oppress the people."

L. Kaganovich, Deputy Premier of the USSR,
in *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), January 7, 1950

"Oh how many wonderful and beautiful things
Have Stalin and the Party given to us:
Cheer, hope, strength, wisdom,
Daring aspirations into higher regions,
Camps and schools."

"September Greeting," (song for 8-9
year-old pupils), *Uutoro*, September, 1952

"Josef Vissarionovich Stalin studied a very great deal. His
talents are extraordinary indeed! How quickly he absorbed
all basic knowledge!"

Mlada Fronta (Prague), December 21, 1952

"Our New Years Tree* was very rich. We have to be
thankful to our dear Stalin for all that."

"Do you promise to study well? Remember, Stalin, our
most beloved leader, is sitting in Moscow and thinking about
you. Be tidy and diligent!"

Excerpts from "Children's Hour,"
Radio Klaipeda (Lithuania), January 2, 1953

"... His wisdom, his manhood, his strong will and his
unlimited love toward man secured the great victories of
Socialism. ..."

Otechestven Front (Sofia), December 21, 1952

"Stalin, the greatest man of all ages. ..."

Magyar Nemzet (Budapest), December 21, 1952

"... In all languages of the world people say: 'Stalin is
peace,' 'Stalin is the conscience of nations,' 'Stalin is with
us—victory will be ours.'"

Wola Ludu (Warsaw), December 20-21, 1952

Science

"The teaching of Stalin embraces all the universal prin-
ciples of nature in its smallest details. He solves all the
practical problems of understanding natural science. Stalinist
science has become a planned science. ..."

Elet es Tudomany (Budapest), December 24, 1952

"A man who was cured of a serious illness by a Soviet-style
operation said: 'I am profoundly grateful to the great Stalin,
to whom Soviet medical science owes gratitude for its superi-
ority.'"

Magyar Nemzet (Budapest), December, 1952

"One of Stalin's unforgettable merits is that he initiated
systematic research in the field of natural science."

Elet es Tudomany (Budapest), December 24, 1952

"Our great Stalin [is] the Coryphaeus [leader of the chorus
in Greek drama] of all sciences. ..."

Bashkimi (Tirana), September 10, 1952

"The greatest scientific genius of this era, Stalin, has shown
the world how science can benefit the people, and he is an
inspiration for all Czechoslovak scientists. ... The entire
world of science regards Stalin as the greatest authority on
contemporary science."

Radio Prague, November 17, 1952

* Christmas Tree is now called "New Years Tree." And Santa
Claus is called "Uncle Frost," after the Russian "Dyedushka
Moroz."

Logic

"... Stalin is the most logical thinker of our times. ..."
Nova Mysl (Prague), October, 1952

"Stalin's work on linguistics has rendered tremendous help
in the study of problems of logic."

Contemporarul (Bucharest), March 21, 1952

Constitutional Law

"Comrade Stalin teaches that one can hardly overestimate
the international significance [application] of the new Con-
stitution ... it shows the way to oppressed nations for libera-
tion from the yoke of capitalism and exploitation."

Rahva Haal (Tallinn), December 5, 1952

"The Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, model-
ling itself on the greatest and most democratic Constitution
in the world—Stalin's Constitution—does not limit itself to
mere formulations of citizens' rights and liberties, but ...
also establishes their real guarantees. It is obvious, of course,
that [it] cannot insure those rights so universally and fully
as Stalin's Constitution—the constitution of the State of vic-
torious Socialism. ..."

Polish Vice Premier Stefan Jedrychowski in
Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), February 2, 1952

Statistics

"Today it is practically impossible for an individual to
write quickly a truthful and really scientific textbook on sta-
tistics, as it was possible for the genius of J. V. Stalin ... who
compiled a comprehensive study on statistics. ..."

Nova Mysl (Prague), December, 1951

Education

"The Communist Party and Comrade Stalin personally pay
extreme great attention to education and training of young
cadres in all areas of life. Comrade Stalin teaches us to work
with youth with great care and patience and to help them
by every means to bring about an accelerated development."

Rahva Haal (Tallinn), April 25, 1952

"Stalin's work on linguistics inspired educators and enabled
them to clarify, on the basis of Stalin's guidance, basic ques-
tions and principles of the science of education."

Kozneveles (Budapest), June, 1952

Architecture

"We took as our example Soviet architecture which, follow-
ing the guidance of the great Stalin, is based on the further
development of national popular traditions."

Minister of Construction Lajos Szijarto in
Szabad Nep (Budapest), March 4, 1952

Industry

"Without the special care of Stalin, the present advanced
techniques in meat-combines, preserve and sugar plants, fish
and everything else done in the field of food industry would
not exist."

Soviet Politburo member A. Mikoyan in
Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), January 7, 1950

"Stalin gives constant attention to the development of
electrification."

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), January 7, 1950

"On the initiative and under the leadership of Comrade
Stalin hundreds of large machine plants have been built up."

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), January 7, 1950

Marxist Theory

"It is extremely difficult to apprehend Stalin's gigantic contribution to Marxist thought, for there is no field of science which has not been enriched by his genius. It is impossible not to call Stalin the greatest philosopher of our times, the great expert on national and colonial problems, a magnificent strategist. . . ." *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), December 23, 1949

"It is only Stalin, leaning firmly and unwaveringly on the theoretical teachings of scientific Socialism—having at the same time the closest contacts with the broad masses—who is able to analyze clearly and find with mathematical precision the exact way toward solution of present day problems. . . ." *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 21, 1952

"Stalin is the greatest master of the most daring revolutionary decisions." *Zemедельско Zname* (Sofia), December 21, 1952

"Stalin is the founder of the scientific theory of the all-encompassing socialist society and of the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism."

Scanteia (Bucharest), December 21, 1952

"Comrade Stalin not only masters to perfection the entire scientific inheritance of Marx-Engels-Lenin, not only safeguards the Marxist-Leninist theory in the severe struggle against the opportunists of all classes, not only is a genial prophet of the scientific inheritance of his teachers, but enriches Marxism-Leninism with a number of great discoveries and further develops the Marxist-Leninist theory."

Soviet Politburo member A. Mikoyan in *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), January 7, 1950

Political Leadership

". . . The greatest leader of all epochs—Generalissimus Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. . . ."

Bulgarski Voin (Sofia), March, 1952

"Stalin is greater than all the other presidents, generals, statesmen and politicians of the old world . . . who tried to make their mark in history. . . ."

Rude Pravo (Prague), December 21, 1952

"With your name the holy matter of peace is forever connected. . . ." *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), December 22, 1950

"It was Stalin who as early as 1913, in his work *Marxism and the Problems of Nationalities and Colonialization*, laid the foundation stone for solution of the peace problem."

Health Minister J. Plojhar, *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), December 21, 1952

". . . The teacher and leader of the whole progressive humanity—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. . . ."

Vecherni Novini (Sofia), December 20, 1952

"The peoples are led by the wisdom of the greatest man of our epoch—the genial Stalin."

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), November 6, 1952

". . . [Stalin is] the co-creator and organizer of the October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet Union, a builder of Socialism, victor over Nazism, Fascism, liberator of nations, leader of the world peace camp, democracy and Socialism. . . ."

Polish Vice Premier Stefan Jedrychowski in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), December 21, 1952

"Stalin, the great architect of Communism."

Contemporarul (Bucharest), May 23, 1952

Economics

"It is our duty . . . to utilize the riches [of Stalin's work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*] in every walk of our life, and all of our work must be governed by this infallible compass of Soviet experience and Stalinist wisdom."

Rude Pravo (Prague), October 30, 1952

"A classic masterpiece of creative Marxism, the work of Comrade Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, is an inspiration."

Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw), October 6, 1952

"Stalin's recent book, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, is the work of a genius. [In it] he eliminated a number of obscurities, and on the basis of a strictly scientific analysis, expounded and discovered a number of new, scientific principles and laws."

Radio Prague, October 29, 1952

Linguistics and Philology

"Our philology also has great shortcomings and we must follow the course so boldly shown by the genius of our leader, J. V. Stalin."

Rude Pravo (Prague), July 2, 1950

"We listened to the liberating words of the great Stalin with real joy and our philology realized finally the impossibility of retaining the idealistic conception. . . . Our philologists are sincerely thankful to the genius Stalin. He saved us long and tiresome experimenting . . . in the dark. Many, many thanks Generalissimus Stalin."

Prof F. Travnick, foremost Czechoslovak linguist, in *Lidove Noviny* (Prague), June 28, 1950

"The lights of Comrade Stalin in matters of language have been projected on the sky of Soviet culture. . . ."

Contemporarul (Bucharest), July, 1951

"Productive and receptive word power is in reality a mathematical problem. . . . In his outstanding work, *Marxism and Linguistics*, Stalin firmly established this old and basic rule in the teaching of languages."

Kozneveles (Budapest), April 15, 1952

"Comrade Stalin eliminated the dead end in philology by his works and laid a secure foundation for philology which enabled us to erase former errors and achieve rapid progress in philological science."

"The correct analysis of relationships between various languages and the research in this field by Comrade Stalin established a firm foundation for sound research on the Estonian language and on Ugro-Finnish languages."

Rahva Haal (Tallinn), September 26, 1952

"We all remember the historic articles of Stalin on linguistics, the significance of which lie not only in the field of comparative philology, but also in many other fields of human science, creativeness and thought. These articles gave birth to a tremendous development of intellectual movement in the Soviet Union and here in Poland. They taught us to view and judge differently many basic problems of our culture; they taught us, for instance, to appraise differently our national heritage of great thinkers and writers. . . ."

Wola Ludu (Warsaw), December 21, 1951

Military Leadership

"J. V. Stalin—the initiator and organizer of the victories of the Soviet people in the great Fatherland War."

Rahva Haal (Tallinn), November 22, 1952

"We see Comrade Stalin as a genial military leader and victor over his enemies . . ."

Rude Pravo (Prague), September 22, 1952

" . . . It was the military genius of Stalin who personally directed the defense of Leningrad, who gave the order for the annihilation of the German armies at Stalingrad and who personally ordered Marshal Zhukov's armies to liberate Prague. . . ."

Rude Pravo (Prague), December 21, 1952

"Stalin worked out the principles of new military science and art."

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), January 7, 1950

Law

" . . . The principal task facing all lawyers and others concerned with legal matters is to raise the standard of our State and legal science on the basis of Comrade Stalin's ingenious and brilliant work on economic problems."

The Journal of Law (Budapest), November-December, 1952

"Only through the teachings of Stalin are we able to see clearly the significance of law and particularly that of international law. Stalin established with unfailing reliability the methods of regulating international relations."

Undersecretary of State and university professor
Gyula Hajdu in *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), July 8, 1952

Stalin as Deity

"There is no God, because he is not visible. We can only believe what we see. We believe in Stalin, because he can be seen; he is the head of the world," says Hizo. On days preceding school excursions, Hizo says goodbye to his pupils with the following words: 'May the great Stalin grant us good weather tomorrow.'"

Refugee report on Karoly Hizo, Director of the
Lajos Kossuth Students' Home (Hungary)

"To us belong the factory, the school, the womb of the earth,
and the sweet-flowing waters,
Thanks to you our Stalin, our Father, Thanks to you!"

Szabad Nep (Budapest), January 1, 1950

"So calm, wise, human, sincere
And illuminated by the stars . . .
Behold! This is Stalin!"

Radio Prague, December 21, 1952

"Unusual is the power of Stalin's prophesying—a fundamental quality of our great leader."

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), January 7, 1950

"Let the Lord shorten our lives by years and add minutes to Stalin's life. We are so many that he will live forever."

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy
(Bucharest), October 26, 1952

"There is not a name dearer and closer to the hearts of the millions of laboring people."

Narodna Mladej (Sofia), December 21, 1952

"Should anyone try to conquer what to us is precious and dear,
We, the eight million, will follow Stalin without fear. . . ."

Ferenc Juhasz, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), January 1, 1950

"And the whole country sings about him,
All peoples adore him.
Stalin is on the lips of the world,
His iron will
Here in war and in peace.
All eyes look to him."

Hymn, "The Great Leader," 1951

"The greatest happiness is to see Stalin."

Literaturen Front (Sofia), November 6, 1952

"Stalin, the country glorifies you,
Thy great name
Shines unvanquished like
Sun over the world."

Femeia (Bucharest), December 5, 1952

"Our leader and comrade, Stalin, is guiding us everywhere. Stalin's soul is like an eye of Heaven, holding his protecting hands over us . . . Stalin is our happiness! Stalin is our glory!"

"There are no words strong enough to express the glory of Stalin."

Otechestven Front (Sofia), December 21, 1952

"Peoples of the earth look up to the USSR and Stalin with hope in their hearts. . . . The salvation of human civilization—all that is the genial work of the Strategist of Peace. . . . The splendid star of the Kremlin shines for all people. . . ."

Radio Prague, December 21, 1952

"And lo behold, onto the broad Red Square
With modest majesty, gloriously enters
The Himalaya, and casting its blue shadow
Against the lofty skies, proudly lifts its head.
Stalin! My greetings I bring to you today.
I have come to pay homage!
Your eternal being is more powerful than I.
You, the great mountain of Himalaya!"

Tiszataj (Debrecen), December, 1952

"Stalin keeps watch and he speaks
And everything he utters penetrates
The depth of the sea and reaches
The immeasurable heights of the stars.
Stalin is watching.
Mountains, valleys, springs, rivulets,
Rivers, canals, oceans
Mines, oil wells and the highest regions of the stratosphere
Attention!"

Szovjet Kultura (Budapest), December, 1952

From Discipline to Diversion

I. THE "LIGHTER" SIDE

To lead a full and happy life is no doubt a universal aim, Iron Curtains notwithstanding. The dedicated Communist sacrifices personal considerations to what he believes to be the common good. He envisions his life in terms of economic, political and cultural contributions to the State. He may be a Stakhanovite, an ordinary laborer or a white collar worker, but he relates his job to its impact on the nation's economy. His political obligations commensurate to the economic ones, take the form of active Party affiliation. In the cultural line, although he is again expected to contribute to building a new Socialist aesthetics, he is also on the receiving end.

The mainspring of all cultural affairs is the Committee of Science Arts and Culture in Bulgaria, the State Commission for Arts in Czechoslovakia, the Ministry of People's Culture in Hungary, the Ministry of Culture and Art in Poland, and in the Committee for Art in Romania. This Committee superseded the Ministry of Art in 1949 and has the status of a Ministry. In certain instances a Ministry for Education and Enlightenment also directs cultural affairs. Through these Ministries the long arm of the State reaches out to claim the few remaining hours of the individual's leisure time. The lighter side of life behind the Iron Curtain rests in the hands of the social and cultural arbiters of the Communist State. Cultural departments not only channel all free time into so-called "productive causes," but make the "fruits of Socialist culture" available to the masses as entertainment.

The House, Home or Club of Culture disseminates art and refinement on a local scale and keeps close watch on the citizen's spare time. It is often the center for the Russian Friendship Societies and also the local Peace Campaign headquarters. These clubs are usually lodged in fine town houses, country chateaux or ex-noblemen's castles. The average club is open from nine in the morning till ten at night. Every club has an auditorium, a well-stocked Communist library, radio, movie facilities, dance hall and such

restful accessories as Stalin's bust, portraits of national Communist heroes, photographs of the Kremlin and scenic shots of the Soviet Union. Russian classes, lectures, folk sings, amateur theatricals and carefully planned "spontaneous" dances take place in these centers, where the absence of a community resident is noted with displeasure. The heavy propaganda content of all club activities makes it inaccurate to describe them as relaxing, entertaining or diverting, though in some instances they probably contribute to the pleasure of local groups.

Crime and Punishment

Is there any lighter side to life in captive Europe, any possibility of diversion from job and Party? The average reader surely peruses the newspapers in the hope of finding some escape in unusual news stories or even in the advertisements. This, however, is not a very fruitful source of entertainment. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, there are fewer papers than previously and all are rigidly controlled by the press section of the Ministry of Information, which even indicates the page and column where certain items should appear, a custom adapted from the Nazis. The lively pre-war layout has been replaced by the Soviet favored style of long, drab, unbroken columns of newsprint. Sensational or tabloid journalism has no place in the academic canon of Communist reportage. There are no murders, no divorces, no scandals, no Siamese twins or quintuplets in captive Europe, or if these events occur they are considered of negligible interest beside a quotation from Lenin or Marx. Criminal stories only appear if their inclusion contributes to some propaganda goal, as in the case of a recent post office hold-up which was slanted to show "the rottenness of the American way of life." Reporting the event over Radio Prague the announcer said:

"Sometimes the start is very innocent. Long hair, narrow trouser legs, a loose jacket, a loud tie knotted like a shoe lace—this is the picture of those so aptly called 'pasek' [zootsuits]. Such poisoned individuals

become idlers, longing only for vulgar pleasures, which they try to obtain by all means, honest work excepted. The regional office of the State Police informed us of a case typical of such good-for-nothings. Three boys . . . typical zootsuits, lived in an unreal world of detective and cowboy stories. All they wanted was money, in order to live like American gentlemen. But they did not like to work. . . . Armed to the teeth in the manner of their gangster idols, they held up the post office of Prague-Hloubetin—"The money or we'll shoot!" . . . Now they are in prison awaiting severe sentences, which we hope will re-educate them, so that we can once again welcome them into our midst."

Madison Avenue Is Not in Bucharest

In June 1952, Moscow's *Pravda* criticized Soviet cartoons devoted to life inside the USSR: many of them are "satirical" pictures without satire." This criticism was also extended to Soviet advertising which was attacked for lack of taste, paucity of artistic ideas and dearth of apt slogans. In the captive countries, however, there is no indication that advertising is considered a skill or expected to meet any standards. Advertising *per se* has become desultory and routine. In Romania it is limited to one newspaper, *Universul*. Before the war *Universul* carried more want ads, social columns and obituaries than any other Bucharest newspaper. When the Communists took power, Ana Pauker's group reportedly was put in charge of the paper. After her demotion, however, it became a weekly. Although *Universul* still carries ads, it no longer includes weather forecasts, radio programs or movie programs. Where people find out about these matters remains a mystery, as well as why this information was suppressed. *Universul's* ads appear on the last page. They are chiefly want ads and notices of loss. People seeking jobs cannot afford to place ads and are reluctant to do so since they are supposed to have jobs. Officially there is no unemployment.

The following ads are representative of the usual fare:

Hygiena, the Hairdressers' and Barbers' Cooperative needs a Comrade chemist immediately, specialist in hair dyes.

Institute of Plastic Arts needs young men to model. *Cooperatorul* Cooperative destroys rats and mice with superior efficacy.

Cooperative *Socialist Glory* destroys rats and mice permanently.*

Visit the Women's Hat Department of Romarta [address given] and see the season's latest creations.

Subscribe to Soviet magazines and newspapers for 1953. Subscriptions taken at any post office in Bucharest.

* Rats must be numerous since these ads appear frequently.

An interesting and diverting column which has almost completely disappeared from *Universul* was entitled "The Citizens Tell Us." Since *Universul* became a weekly last

July, this column only appeared once on October 6, 1952, when it carried the following complaint:

"In several parts of Bucharest new public fountains were installed this year for drinking purposes. But these fountains do not function properly. . . . The one at Podul Cotroceni, as well as others, shoots the water three feet up into the air and one cannot even approach it, let alone drink from it. Furthermore this is such a waste of water."

As commercial advertisements are a rarity in Communist papers it was a most unusual event in the Baltics when the Lithuanian paper, *Tiesa* of Vilnius, printed a full page of ads followed by a half page the next day. The occasion was the New Year celebration and the subjects advertised as follows:

Meet the New Year at restaurants, cafes, and lunch-
conettes of the Trust of Restaurants! Open until 6:00
A.M.

Drink natural coffee!

Tea produced in the Motherland.

Ask for canned vegetables, fruits, mushrooms, jam
and vinegar from the State Conserves Factory called
Gerove.

Do not forget to buy Soviet Champagne for your
New Year's party!

You may buy champagne, wine, vodka, candies and
jam at stores No. 82 and No. 106 [addresses indicated].

Buy your New Year's presents at the shops of Vilnius'
Industrial Merchandise.

Mayonnaise is the best spice for fish and vegetables.

These ads were illustrated by crude line-cuts and half tones, which nonetheless made the merchandise look quite appetizing, particularly the mayonnaise jars with the fish and vegetable dish and the champagne ads. One champagne bottle was placed in front of the artistically etched branch of a Christmas tree sporting several incandescent balls. Beside it stood a delicate traditional champagne glass replete with bubbles.

Advertising in Lithuania is usually a pedestrian affair in cluding lists of shows at local theaters, local radio programs, official announcements urging one to pay for public utilities and academic notices at the opening of the new school year. Price listing is scrupulously avoided not only in advertisements but also on the radio. Only on one occasion in 1952 was the price mentioned and it related to the sale of empty beer bottles which sell today for the pre-war price of a full bottle.

In Poland the Communist press also carries a minimum of advertisements. *Trybuna Ludu* of Warsaw, for instance, only includes radio, theater and movie programs. There are no obituary columns and the only deaths to receive news coverage are those of leading Party members. Such notices are boxed in black. From time to time *Trybuna Ludu* includes a chess column, a pretty steady feature in captive Europe, often the only one free of political slant. *Express Wieczorny*, one of Warsaw's evening papers, usually carries a half page of advertising out of a total of

six pages. These ads are not very lively: notice of year's training for nurses in the Polish Red Cross; listings of Trade Union meetings; and announcements of lost identity cards. Under the heading "Medical Notices," six doctors specializing in dermatology and venereal diseases listed their office hours. A miscellaneous announcement listed under the heading "Reward Promised" advertised for someone "to walk a dog." The request for such a luxury service makes one wonder if President Bierut's dog could perhaps be the dog in question. Under the title "Commerce" such items as pianos, typewriters, couches, houses and taxis are occasionally listed. According to a refugee, taxis and trucks are still privately owned in some instances, the State having recognized that only the loving care of an individual owner could keep such very old vehicles in running order. Occasional ads for domestic help, maids and housekeepers appear in these evening notices.

Slowo Powszechnie, the pro-regime Catholic paper, as well as the independent *Tygodnik Powszechnie* of Cracow, carry ads for religious accessories such as rosaries, crosses, medallions, candelabra, and books such as the *Letters of St. Paul*. Obituaries listed in both these papers are preceded by a small cross as well as the letters "s.p." standing for in sacred memoriam.

By and large, advertisements give little relief. In most instances they provide mute evidence of a lowered standard of living or are merely thumbnail tragedies. In Czechoslovakia, persons classified as "unproductive" or "undeserving" were deprived of their ration cards by recent decree and are now selling their last possessions in an effort to survive. Included in the ranks of the "undeserving" are: "village rich," former factory owners, bankers, wholesalers, stock holders, "high bureaucrats" of the First Republic and others. Ads, the majority of which were presumably placed by such persons, and which appeared in the January 25 issue of *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague) follow:

For Sale

New mens leather coat 16,000 Kcs (\$320)
Mens stop-wrist-watch Swiss 7,000 Kcs (\$140)
6 silver teaspoons 1,000 Kcs (\$20)
Couch, 2 upholstered chairs 3,000 Kcs (\$60)
20 grams 14 karat gold 400 Kcs (\$160)
Lace evening gown 3,000 Kcs. (\$60) or exchange
Persian lamb, coat like new, 115 centimeters long
25,000 Kcs (\$500)
Diamond ring 2½ karat: Must be seen
Renault Primaquatre 1937 overhauled, new gearbox
and motor 120 Kcs (\$2,400)
Peugot (number) 301D limousine 120,000 Kcs (\$2,400)

Wanted

Paintings, masters only, Czech and foreign
Gravestone, black
Wanted large diamond, write, world price
Wanted electric refrigerator, must be like new
Wanted vacuum cleaner, infra-red lamp 220 volts, Leica
or Contax

The "undeserving," the former bourgeoisie, and those slated for deportation in Hungary and Romania are also selling their last possessions. In Czechoslovakia such unfortunates have no ration cards but are allowed to work, whereas in Romania they often have neither ration card nor working permit. This reduces them to becoming part of a forced labor battalion and makes living conditions insurmountably difficult. In Bucharest and in certain other large towns there are *Consignatia*. These shops, run by State employees, handle the sale of former bourgeois' possessions and they frequently advertise in *Universul*. Terms are definitely to the seller's disadvantage and in addition he must pay storage dues for those of his goods not sold within 30 days. Private transactions are dangerous because a seller may be denounced for attempting an illegal sale and subsequently charged with economic sabotage.

State Lottery Cancelled

Betting, a popular form of recreation, which used to be handled in Czechoslovakia by STASKA, the State betting office, where bets on soccer or hockey matches were placed, was recently outlawed. According to a refugee journalist this caused great indignation among workers. Factory hands at two large national enterprises, the Synthesia explosives plant in Semtin and the Kosmos margarine factory in Caslav sent worker delegations to their regional Trade Union leaders with demands for reinstatement of STASKA. Trade Union leaders explained that betting through STASKA caused considerable waste of production time and that workers would be better off if they put in overtime instead of filling out betting coupons. They counseled workers to join SVAZARM, the union for cooperation with the Army, to take up sports under its aegis, or advised them to read political literature or take Russian lessons. *Universul* of Bucharest, however, still carries ads for the Romanian State Lottery. Great prominence is given to these ads and the paper often publishes pictures of some lucky comrade grinning happily and holding the winning ticket.

All Work and No Play

The complete lack of government understanding for the basic human need to relax is illustrated by the following excerpts from an article in the official magazine of the East German Communist Youth Organization. Carried in *Junge Generation*, October 24, 1952, under the title "I Don't Have Any Time for Private Study," it makes clear by omission why the citizens of captive Europe have so little time for relaxation.

"... One is in error to think he has no time to study because work takes up too much time. . . .

"... I personally plan my time on a fourteen day basis. I note the number of hours which it should take me to study the theoretical materials of the study plan and schedule my time accordingly, setting aside a certain amount of time for each theoretical work to be studied. After I have noted my weekly schedule, I find it easier to see how much free time I have left. Once that is done, I fix my study-time each Saturday evening and

make adjustments to fit the peculiar needs of the day. Thus, when I find that I have to spend Saturday visiting an industrial installation, I schedule four hours of study for Friday nights. Should Saturday afternoon and Sunday be free time, why then I gain another eight to ten hours of study time. I find no trouble at all in reading all the pertinent materials in the 24 to 28 hours which I devote to home study throughout every two-week period. . . .

"... I still find it impossible, however, to study every single evening. There are so many important things scheduled: cultural self-improvement, sports, rallies, meetings and movies, etc., that one is too tired to study after getting home.

"So I get up earlier than usual and thereby gain several hours of study time each week. Naturally, care must be exercised about such rules, so that one's body gets used to them and so that body-strengthening sports are not neglected. One must also be careful to get eight hours' sleep. All that can be done easily, however.

"I spend fifteen or twenty minutes studying the paper the moment it arrives in the mornings. At first I read only the most important articles and editorials for they may, after all, give me a solution to problems which I will meet that very day. Then I mark the other articles which interest me. There are always a few moments during the day when I can pull the paper out of my pocket and read. I save the longer articles for noon or evenings. As for the important speeches and resolutions, which demand more study, I save those for my theoretical study time. Articles, biographies, technical and scientific materials which are not absolutely required reading, I look through hurriedly, then file away according to subject matter and use them as background material for the speeches and articles which I write."

In Vino Veritas

The desire to escape the harsh realities of Communist life, if only for a few hours, has led to an alcoholism problem in Poland despite the intensive battle waged against drinking for the last two years. Continuing increases in liquor prices, regulations prohibiting the sale of liquor to inebriated persons and arrests of drunken absentee workers have all failed to halt the tide of alcoholism. In view of these factors, it seems unlikely that a projected crackdown on tavern managers, foretold in *Kurier Codzienny* (Warsaw), December 27, will have much effect. Three separate "dens of iniquity" were described as follows:

"The swooning tango played by the tavern virtuoso entrances the passers-by. Clouds of smoke pour out through the open doors of *Prazanka*, a WZG [Warsaw Gastronomical Establishments] saloon. The heavy smell of alcohol is overpowering. All the tables are occupied. The public has completely lost its individual features. Vodka has equalized and fraternized everyone. Some of them are asleep in the intricate embrace of casual friends. Others are engaged in an intricate and meaningless discourse. Every now and again some voice rises—'Waiter, next round please.' There is even no need of shouting. The waiters are at your back, ready to serve the ever renewed battery of proverbial *setkas* [1/10 litre bottle].

"Is it only at your back? Let us go to the nearby WJZ saloon *Wiselka*. Here vodka also flows in streams.. Customers are drinking and so is the staff. In the middle of the room, the saloon manager, in the embrace of an unknown customer, drinks to the customer's immortal 'health' for the umpteenth time. The waiters look after their guests, drinking round after round with them.

"A similar atmosphere prevails at the *Turtle* [a WZG bar]. Vodka is served at the tables at by no means a turtle-like tempo. The orchestra is playing a double role. In the center of the dining room, the band leader, in the clownish pose of a pirate, dressed in a golf sweater which reveals a suggestive tattoo on his arms, swears loyalty to his companions. The other guests watch him enchanted.

"This is the picture noted in three restaurants during an inspection conducted by representatives of the Presidium and of the Trade Commission of the Praga-Center District National Council in the evening hours on December 22. It was not any particular drunkards' rally day in those restaurants."

In Czechoslovakia the Communist regime is also worried by alcoholics and the attendant loss of working hours while individual citizens seek escape in a magic bottle tilted by Bacchus.

Complaints about excessive drinking appeared in the press with growing frequency in the spring of 1951. On May 22, 1952, *Nova Praha* of Prague reported on a new factor in the struggle against alcoholism—the checking station for alcoholics. All drunkards must attend a Sunday class and the Advisory Station of Alcoholics decides whether an individual's name must remain on file or whether after a lecture he may be discharged *carte blanche*. Prague has nine such advisory stations which maintain close liaison with the checking stations.

Comrade Anezka Simova recently wrote a letter which was read over Radio Prague on January 30, presumably because it so aptly phrased the government's attitude toward alcoholism. Comrade Simova's statement that drinking has increased because workers are earning more money than before is belied by all reports on Czechoslovakia's economic plight. Except for beer, which is comparatively cheap, 38 to 60 cents a liter, liquor prices are prohibitive.

"The former capitalistic society had nothing against alcoholism. Profits were all important. Drunkards became poorer and poorer and their creditors richer and richer. How is it today? Today people drink, too, for a variety of reasons. But as I have observed, fewer drink because of secret sorrows. There are many more who have begun to drink, because they earn enough money. They want to 'live!' The capitalists paid no attention to drunkenness. For each drunkard they had ten unemployed at their disposal. But we cannot look on with our hands folded. Comrade Zapotocky says that those who shirk are endangering plan fulfillment and the health of the nation as well! For this reason we have established institutions for the cure of alcoholics. The cure is expensive. I am not against it. It is right to lend alcoholics a helping hand. . . . During the war, when no alcohol was available, the majority of the people went without it, and we could do the same now if overstocked

wine and liquor shops did not tempt people to drink. We have a law against drunkenness. But just look how it is being enforced! In some communities the chairman of the Local National Committee shuts his eyes because he has drinking sessions with members of the State Security Corps. He forgets that the People's administration must safeguard the family, mothers and children. I am also a member of the Local Committee, but you would be surprised how we keep order. . . ."

Prohibition Not the Answer

On January 29, *Kvety* (Prague) carried this condemnation of tipling, although the author maintained that prohibition was a ludicrous solution:

"Surely no one will deny that a young man 'elegantly' leaning on the bar counter and drinking rum till he is dizzy belongs in a dockside saloon rather than in our present day surroundings. But such phenomena are not rare. It is of course no sign of mass alcoholism, but the fact that the majority of us earn enough money to be able to live decently evidently leads some people astray to search in their cups for the lost romanticism of cheap literature. It goes without saying that a man, who at three A.M. wobbles between the proverbial streetlamps, comes hours late to work and then sleeps on the job, has no right to complain that he cannot make ends meet. It is really surprising that some regard such behavior as 'heroic.' Such cases cannot be regarded lightly, even if some people do so. However, the demand for the abolition of alcohol beverages is just as naive and exaggerated as the behavior of those who spend their earnings in such a silly way."

The parallel problem exists in Bulgaria. A 36 year old street vendor who escaped from Sofia last summer expressed himself on conditions in this quaint and nostalgic outburst: "I'm a single man. None of your politics [for me]. I don't give a hoot about Five Year Plans. They may build heaven on earth if they're so crazy about it. But damn it all, why in hell deprive us ordinary folks of our evening drink. No sense in it at all. The Commies are just downright mean."

It is obviously not of such stuff that the new "Socialist man" is made. According to the street vendor, pioneering in Socialism has spelled doom for fancy free people like himself. Continuing with his soliloquy he said: "In the Commies' eyes I'm a moral villain, who never had the guts to face life, get married and raise a family." Little bars and "trim aperitif places" have vanished in Sofia. Such colorfully named spots as *The Bear's Den*, *The Wild Cocks*, and *The Lame Dog*, were all swept away by the "hurricane" of September 9, 1944.* Proprietors do not vie to serve one the best drinks or specialty dishes and enterprising waiters do not rush to oblige patrons. Wandering minstrels no longer stroll from table to table to cheer one's spirits. Instead of drinking to relax from a hard day's work, "a guy drinks to forget a drab day and dull his thoughts for the morrow." Expatriating on present conditions the vendor said:

* Soviet-inspired coup d'etat in Bulgaria.

"Today you've got to get your drinks at the *horemags* [abbreviation for hotels, restaurants and stores]. All *horemags* are owned by the State and run by men who know nothing about food or liquor. Imagine having to go to a plain restaurant where bright lights stare at you and strangers can count your drinks. Large signs threaten you 'not to offend the personnel with tips'. The prices charged in *horemags* are highway robbery. . . . Before you know it, the bill has soared to 17.70 *leva*. Figure it out for yourself. The average daily wage is only 16 *leva*. Then, brother, don't you feel flat footed! Next time you stick to *rakia* [fruit brandy], or start on wine to save on food.

"Service is very poor. A guest entering a *horemag* may look around for a side table. This simple fact gives him away to the waiter, who thinks 'another one of those drinking loafers.' Sullenly, he takes the order. Often a guests must wait half an hour for a single shot of *rakia*. If he becomes restless and complains, the waiter is apt to reply: 'If you are in too much of a hurry, you can take off right now.' Often the waiter and barman gang up to serve a guest less than the standard quantity and dilute the drinks. Too much grumbling will result in being thrown out of the *horemag* for unsocial behavior. . . . The 'prolet' *horemag* in Samokov holds the record for rough treatment of guests. . . . Similar to other public places in Bulgaria the *horemag* is not the place to be too chummy. There's always an eavesdropper. . . . The *horemags* lack privacy and color. Yet despite the rotten service and exorbitant prices, folks in the know claim that today more people in Bulgaria seek release in liquor than ever before."

II. ISOLATION AND INDOCTRINATION

The curtain dividing the Soviet-dominated countries from the free world not only isolates the captive peoples politically but intellectually as well. The effect of an intellectual Iron Curtain is particularly grave for the younger generation which will have had little or no experience of life prior to the Communists or knowledge of the West. It is for this generation that the Communists have shaped their educational methodologies.

In 1932, in a satire of the future socialist society, Aldous Huxley wrote in his *Brave New World*: ". . . We also predestine and condition. We decant our babies as socialized human beings, as Alphas or Epsilons, as future sewage workers or future . . . World Controllers, future Directors of Hatcheries. . . . We have managed to do a lot to them. Oh, a very great deal." Twenty-two years later the fantasies of fiction had become the purposes of reality in Communist-dominated Czechoslovakia. For example, Minister of Education Z. Nejedly said in Prague (March, 1952):

". . . We are building a new world, a new republic, and for this we need a new man. It is not easy to make them—it is so much easier to give someone new technical skill or a new weapon than to give him a new brain. . . . But we must not be discouraged. Even today, we can already see that we have very good results whenever we just

look at our youth. . . . Here we have achieved very significant progress, we have special means for creating the new man. . . ."

The task of building a "new Socialist man" begins at the cradle. The captive child grows up ignorant of Western "bourgeois" culture and in the classroom, this ignorance is exploited by teaching the child to hate the West and love the Soviet Union, while giving him a completely distorted picture of the nature of both. *Zemedelsko Zname* (Sofia), August 14, 1952, wrote:

"Our schools educate the young generations in patriotic spirit, in love of the socialist Fatherland and proletarian internationalism, in unlimited fidelity toward the Communist Party, the friendly Soviet Union, and toward the teacher and leader of the whole progressive humanity, the Great Stalin. Our schools create new men—real creators, builders of socialism."

The role of educators is therefore an essential one in captive Europe. Although the phraseology varies slightly from country to country, the teacher's role is carefully defined by the State. For instance, it was given in the Bulgarian *Narodna Mladej* (Sofia), February 21, 1952: "[The teacher's function is] to educate youth to hate the instigators of a new imperialist war, the Anglo-American imperialists and their tools in the Balkans. . . ." Or as Albanian *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana), quoting Minister of Education Bedri Spahiu, on September 2, 1952, echoed the sentiment: "The schools now give all of you a Communist education. . . . That is why you have great love for your fatherland and the Soviet Union and why you hate the American imperialists . . . your enemies. . . ."

The secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, Edward Ochab, told a conference of Warsaw teachers on September 13, 1952:

" . . . It is your task as educators of the young generation of builders of Socialism to voice the objective truth about nature and society, about Poland and the world. You must boldly and skillfully unmask the subterfuges and tricks of hostile, imperialist, anti-popular, and anti-national propaganda, stigmatize the agencies of reaction, educate youth in the spirit of most profound love of People's Poland and of the international cause of peace, progress, and Socialism, and at the same time instill a spirit of deep hatred of the imperialist exploiters, oppressors, and genocides. . . ."

"Look West, Young Man"

Satellite newspapers lend their support to the "Hate America" campaign by attacking Western educational methods. *Rinia* (Tirana), September 13, 1952, said:

"The system of teaching in American schools is based on chauvinism and hatred of other people. The theory of racial superiority, as in Hitler's Germany, is the main theme of American education today. . . ."

"Copying the methods of Hitler, the reactionary Americans are burning the books of scientists, distinguished writers, and papers and magazines showing a progressive spirit. At the beginning of this year all the

books of Howard Fast were removed from all school libraries in New York City. According to the newspaper, *People's World*, the books of Mark Train [sic] have been forbidden in many Los Angeles schools. This was done because the appeal of Mark Train against war undermined the morals of the average American. . . . In the books which American students study every reference or page which speaks about successes or ideas in the progressive countries is carefully taken out. . . ."

In a speech before an International Student's Union conference in Bucharest (September 5, 1952), chairman Bernard Bereanu commented on a recent item in a student association newspaper in the US. According to Bereanu, the newspaper maintained that US education was characterized by "ineffectual student leadership, discontent in student organizations, absence of a real opinion, lack of international consciousness, super accentuation and commercialization of sports, whipped-up hysteria, paralysis of student freedom, relaxation of morality, spiritual decay, lack of interest, apathy, fear and prejudices. . . ." Bereanu added that "as a result of war preparations a new tide of racism, fascism and other obscurantist theories have broken out in the universities of the West, especially in the US. There is an increasing trend toward recruiting heads of higher institutions from among military men. Scientific research in certain universities is now devoted primarily to detecting new methods of mass extermination."

Noting that "there are students . . . who still revere the Western 'culture' and 'way of life,'" *Narodna Mladej* (Sofia), December 17, 1952, urged "a constant fight against all manifestations of bourgeois morality and education. . . ."

To Love and Protect . . .

The child's "love of the fatherland," according to Communist educators, implies his willingness to defend it against "imperialist attacks," and therefore paramilitary training has an important place in the school curriculum. A Radio Prague reporter, in a January 12, 1953 broadcast directed to elementary school children, described his visit to a fifth-grade class:

"I went to see the children in the Horomerice School. They wanted to show me how they live up to the Pioneers' slogan, 'Be prepared for construction and defense of the country.' I met the pupils lined up in formation in the corridor of the school building. . . . Boys and girls stand at attention, just like soldiers. But I wish you could see the expression of their faces in that moment! All that we like so much on the [faces] of Soviet Pioneers, all that now can be seen in their [Czech pupils'] features. The teacher calls the class commander, the corridor echoes brisk orders, pupils start marching. . . . When they reached the outskirts of the village . . . the commander's whistle sounded in the air. An air raid. Children ran in all directions and in a second the highway was deserted. When the all clear sounded, the children lined up again in formation and continued their march. . . . Our pupils learn how to hide, sneak, jump into cover and many other things."

Rewritten Texts

Nowhere is Stalinist direction so apparent as in the rewritten textbooks used in Satellite schools. The Communist aim is to present a version of history and life in the Western world which will corroborate their propaganda picture. Removed from any but the prescribed Communist reality, the child is highly receptive to such indoctrination. "Rewritten" texts abound in chapters glorifying the Soviet Union and Socialism, but information on the free world is scant and inaccurate. Distortion leaves little doubt in the child's mind that, for example, the United States is made up completely of slavedrivers, capitalists bent upon war, oppressed Negroes, hungry children and unemployed workers. In a two-volume *Geography Textbook for the 6th and 7th Grades of General School* (Budapest: State Educational Publishers, 1950), only 10 of its 400 pages devoted to countries outside Hungary deal with the United States. Typical passages follow:

"Since World War II, in the United States—as has so often been the case in the course of its history—signs of a grave economic crisis may be discerned. Production is declining, and large quantities of unsold goods are piling up in its warehouses. This indicates that the workers are able to buy less and less food, clothes, and shoes. Incomes are decreasing and the living standard is gradually being lowered. According to official data the number of unemployed exceeds 14 million.

"In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, there is no unemployment; in fact production is rapidly increasing. It has not only reached, but far surpassed, the prewar level.

"While in America the price of commodities is continually rising, the Soviet Union has assured the improvement of living standards by frequently slashing prices. The ever-increasing exploitation is met by the ever-increasing resistance put up by the workers of the United States. The US capitalists are introducing more and more stringent measures in order to maintain their power. All the democratic aspirations of the working masses are stifled, the progressive-minded scientists and the members of the Communist Party are persecuted. The American capitalists, who made big profits in both world wars, are trying to extend their power over the whole world. To attain this end they are preparing another world war. They are reducing the other capitalist countries to satellites (by granting loans and by the Marshall Plan) and are seeking to destroy the Soviet Union and the countries building socialism. . . ."

Position of Farmers

"The devastating consequences of drought are aggravated by the lack of systematic work. The productive capacity of the soil is completely exhausted. As a result the land is gradually deteriorating. Farmers go bankrupt and sell their lands. According to American scientists the desert is spreading to engulf fertile land. In the meantime, in the socialist Soviet Union deserts are systematically being transformed into fertile lands."

Description of California

"During the harvest season the California orchards need many laborers. In order to recruit as many workers as possible, harvesting is advertised as an unusually attractive opportunity. Many bankrupt farmers sell their homes and small plots of land to start a new life in California, but there their fate is even more bitter than it was before. The workers are taken in trucks from plantation to plantation. They feed on fallen fruit and one after another their children become ill. Only by a revolutionary struggle waged by concerted effort will they be able to emerge from this miserable plight."

Negro and Indian Problem

"The thirteen million Negroes in the United States are still living in slavery. They are paid smaller wages and cannot exercise their right to vote. White people may molest Negroes without being punished. The Indians subsist on barren land assigned them on semi-deserts on large plateaus. They may leave their reservations only by special permission."

Illustrations in the geography text point up especially striking contrasts between the Soviet Union and the United States. Sixty pictures in the USSR section depict happy life on the kolkhoz, or in the workman's home, extensive child care, and vast construction works, illustrated with photographs of factories, oil wells, tea plantations. Life in the United States is told briefly, in three photographs: a cave of primitive men in Colorado, the Yosemite Falls in California, and a scene from the San Francisco earthquake, all intended to convey the impression that America is a country of peril. Pictures of America's cities, its industries and agriculture are carefully avoided.

A *Geography Textbook for 2nd and 3rd Forms of Economic High Schools* (Budapest: State Educational Publishers, 1951), is divided into two parts: capitalist countries, and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. In dealing with the free countries, the contrast with the Soviet Union is always pointed up, and in dealing with the captive countries, the Soviet Union is presented as the example to be followed. 23 pages are devoted to the United States and 92 to the Soviet Union. The so-called "Soviet nature transformation plan" is discussed in an additional ten pages. From the section on the United States we learn:

The United States and World War II

"The United States entered the first imperialist World War for the sole purpose of getting hold of as much loot as possible when the world was divided. Increasing tension among the imperialist powers, competition between Japan and Germany, and big profit opportunities tempted the USA to enter World War II. In doing so, it succeeded in becoming the boss in world trade. All the capitalist countries have now become indebted to the United States."

Economic Development

"But as the Socialist world expanded, the capitalist world shrank. In this smaller capitalist world the United States has developed at the cost of its competi-

tors. However, the pace of development, in spite of huge profits made in the two wars, has slowed down considerably. While the rate of production in the past twenty years has increased 2 percent in the United States, it has increased 25 percent in the Soviet Union. Thus, the high rate of progress in the United States belongs to the past. The United States is able to utilize its productive capacity only in time of war. The purpose of the Marshall Plan was to postpone the impending economic disaster. The USA increases its influence on military affairs by expanding its economic and political power."

Classes of Society and Wages

"The conflicts between various classes is intensified by the crisis. In contrast to the idle and luxurious life of the upper ten thousand of the capitalist classes, the standard of living of the working classes is sinking lower and lower. Almost 50 percent of American families earn less than \$40 a week, whereas a four-member workman family needs at least \$65 a week. The real value of wages has dropped to less than one-third since 1945. The number of fully or partially unemployed was near 19 million in 1951. The American monopolist-capitalists make the working class carry the burden of the economic crisis. The loyal servants of these efforts are the traitorous trade union leaders of the labor aristocracy. Only the Communist Party fights for the rights of the workers. More and more workmen are coming to realize that it is they [the Communists] who are struggling to attain the right goals."

In the section on the Soviet Union, the tune changes:

"Under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Union has developed from a backward agricultural country into the greatest industrial power of the world. While agricultural production has increased twofold as compared with Czarist times, industrial production has increased eighteenfold. . . . The Soviet Union is the most progressive and the most significant agricultural country in the world. . . .

"Under imperialism, in the rotting age of capitalism, conditions of production in the capitalist countries hamper the further development of production. . . . In the United States, California oranges are fed to pigs; wheat and cotton fields are becoming smaller, and in the meantime people are starving and are dressed in rags. . . . The United States does not use atomic energy for peaceful purposes or for reclaiming land, while the Soviet Union has put atomic energy at the service of transforming nature."

To cement the impression given in the above "historical" accounts, young pupils are taught poems and songs which bolster the myth. A first grade school reader used in Romania (*The ABC Book*, Bucharest: State Publishers, 1950) contains this poem:

"Joseph Visarionovich Stalin is the great leader of the Soviet Union,
The leader and teacher of all the workers.
Comrade Stalin is known by all men and women workers,
By the men and women farmers, by the young and old.
All the world has heard of Comrade Stalin,
All those who work, love Comrade Stalin."

Russian Is the Password

The extent of Soviet infiltration in the field of Satellite education is apparent in many ways: compulsory Russian language courses, the large "circulation" in Satellite libraries and bookstores of books on all subjects in the Russian language, the large number of works published on Soviet pedagogy, and the preponderance of Russian material in textbooks. An exiled Czech researcher has made an analysis of this trend:

"An examination of several textbooks recently obtained from Czechoslovakia shows that items of explicit Russification were abundant in all textbooks except perhaps those in Latin and Greek, but including mathematics, chemistry, Czechoslovak literature and readings, and others. Stalin's photograph, together with that of Gottwald, at the front of every textbook is, of course, standard in every edition. The contents of a few textbooks follow:

"*Book of Readings*, Prague: State Textbook Publishing House, 1951. 300 pages (for seventh grade classes in Czech language and literature). 200 pages of readings selected from Czech literature; 100 pages of "readings about our country and the world in the new time" (31 items written by Russian authors); 44 items about the USSR; 23 items on Stakhanovites and shock-workers, Communist Party figures.

"*Book of Readings for Grade Four*, Prague: State Textbook Publishing House, 1950. 212 pages. 50 pages are translations from Russian; 12 pages contain items written by Czech authors dealing exclusively with Russian topics. Plan of reading: at least one Russian author is to be read and studied monthly.

"*Social Studies for Grade Three*, Prague: State Textbook Publishing House, 1949. 127 pages. Russian items are located strategically at the beginning and end of book (a device found in almost all textbooks seen by the writer). The text contains the story of an example set by Pioneer Pavlik Morozov, eight years old, who is the new ideal for Pioneers everywhere. Morozov denounced his family to the police.

"*Geography for Grade Seven: the USSR and the People's Democracies in Europe; Capitalistic States in Europe*, Prague: State Textbook Publishing House, 1950. 245 pages. 54 pages are devoted to the USSR, 28 to Czechoslovakia, 8 to Poland, etc., 98 to all Western European states."

An Hungarian sampling of pedagogic works recently issued by the State Educational Publishers (mostly translations from Russian) indicates both the extent of Russian interference in education and the myriad of detailed aspects of teaching with which it concerns itself.

The Soviet Teacher, Budapest, 1950

What to Teach About the Hungarian Constitution, Budapest, 1951

The Role of Ideological and Political Education in Teaching History, Budapest, 1950

Problems of the Moral Education of the Youth, Budapest, 1950

Conducting the Literature Lesson, Budapest, 1950

The School and the Pedagogic Crisis in America, Budapest, 1951

The Systematization of School Work, Budapest, 1950

On the Work of the Headmaster of the Form, Budapest, 1952

The Teaching of Discipline in Our Schools, Budapest, 1951

Methodology for Teaching Literature, Budapest, 1951

The System of Public Education in Czechoslovakia, Budapest, 1950

Home Reading in the Service of Our Educational and Teaching Work, Budapest, 1951

The Geographical Continents, Budapest, 1950

Pedagogy, Budapest, 1951

Why Every University Student Must Master Marxism-Leninism, Budapest, 1950

On Communist Education, Budapest, 1949

Unscientific Explanations in Teaching Natural History, Budapest, 1952

Selected Pedagogic Studies, Budapest, 1949

The Problem of Teaching Responsibility and Discipline, Budapest, 1952

What to Teach About the Great October Revolution and the Hungarian People's Republic, Budapest, 1950

Some recent articles dealing with pedagogy published in the Hungarian journal *Public Education* further illuminate the tendencies and have the following titles:

The Teaching of the Theory of Literature in Soviet Schools

Our Most Important Task Is to Introduce Trade Union Work in Schools

The Headmaster Is to Be the One-Man Responsible Boss of the School

Let Us Make the Work of Our Russian Language Circles More Substantial

The Five-Year Plan of Our Public Education

How to Achieve Good Work in Our Study Rooms

The Headmaster's Work in Setting Up School Cadres

History Professor's Preparation for the Lesson

Tasks in Connection with Russian Language Instruction

Lectures in History Within the Framework of Mass Instruction

Every Science is Party Science

The Marxist-Leninist principles governing Soviet teaching methods are embodied in the "Soviet science of pedagogy," which, like other Soviet "sciences," serves political ends. "We must not forget for a moment," wrote the official Soviet pedagogic journal *Sovietskaya Pedagogika* (Moscow) in its first issue (fall 1946), "that every science is Party science." Nor are Satellite educators permitted to forget. Soviet pedagogy is faithfully followed by the captive teachers who play the role of "Socialist builders." *Rude Pravo* (Prague), August 18, 1952 wrote: "In order to bring up and educate our new Socialist generations . . . the teachers . . . must bring them up on the basis of the one and only ideology and science, by which we are directed in all tasks of construction of our new life, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. . . ."

Zeri i Popullit (Tirana), September 2, 1952, in an editorial on the "New School Year," apprised Albanian teachers of their duty to follow Soviet experiences:

" . . . It is their duty to assimilate very well and put into action, without incorrect interpretation, the experience and excellent teaching methods of the Soviet schools . . . [and] . . . the learning and teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The education of the teachers in this matter is absolutely imperative, because only thus can a teacher have the key of wisdom in his hands. . . ."

Disciplining the Teachers

A Polish teacher who escaped to the West late last year has said that "the teacher is perhaps in the most uncomfortable position in Poland. If he is not a convinced Communist, he is at the mercy of the Communist school inspector." The escapee continues:

"At the close of each school year a conference of teachers is held in the capital of the district. Pictures of Stalin, Bierut and Cyrankiewicz adorn the walls of the meeting-room. The head of the tuition section of the district, the school inspector, some Party secretaries and a delegate from the district administration are in attendance. After the teachers' reports are read, they are criticized on a number of counts: If the teacher failed a pupil, if he did not participate actively in political lectures, if there is an unfavorable report on him from a pupil—all these 'shortcomings' are subject to severe upbraiding. . . ."

A young teacher who recently escaped from Czechoslovakia describes teacher discipline in a small school in Puste Ulany, a Slovak village:

"Control of the teachers' work originates with the Commissariat of Education which issues instructions through school inspectors, there to be transmitted to school principals. Twice a week the principal holds a 'work-meeting' with teachers and outlines instructions to them. These are then incorporated by the teacher into a highly detailed daily 'plan of operation,' which is submitted for the principal's signature at the following meeting. The plan, which is posted in the classroom, must adhere to the following form:

1. Subject of instruction for each class hour
2. Tie-in of topic with contemporary political events in the village or district
3. Description of visual aids to be used
4. Any special occasion (e.g., birthday anniversaries of Communist leaders or heroes) to be observed and discussed during class

"Discussion must be held in prescribed terms. A mathematics problem, for example, would be phrased as follows: '30 members of a JZD [Uniform Agricultural Co-operative] pledged themselves on the occasion of the Party Congress to work voluntarily without pay for 2,100 hours as a brigade. How many hours did each member of the JZD work?'

"The most distasteful disciplinary device for teachers is the 'observation visit' required of each member of the teaching staff. Instructions are to enter the classroom without warning and 'listen' for teacher 'mistakes.'

It is the duty of the teacher then to report his findings 'critically' at the next work-meeting. In schools where all or most teachers are well-known to each other, the 'observation' system is a failure. One faithful comrade, however, is enough to make the system work to some extent, and it becomes an effective means of control."

Early this year, teacher conferences were held in many of the Satellite countries. The delegates "discovered" pedagogic shortcomings and made recommendations on the basis of recent directives of the Moscow 19th Party Congress, but in Bulgaria at least, it had already been decided that corrective measures would be applied not through the teachers themselves, but by political bodies. Radio Sofia, November 6, 1952, one month after the 19th Congress, broadcast:

"The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party is of the opinion that the Central Committee of Dimitrov's Union of the People's Youth must organize the study of Comrade Stalin's article and the decisions of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in all circles for political education of the Dimitrov's Union. . . ."

A report of the January 7 Bulgarian Teachers' Conference was published in *Otechestven Front* (Sofia) on January 16, 1953:

"... The conferences showed that the quality of Communist education is steadily improving. Many teachers reported how they teach and how they apply in practice the rich pedagogic experience of Soviet teachers. . . . However, along with the many successes in the educational field, many weaknesses were pointed out in the system of certain schools. The general condition and development of the educational system lags behind the quick tempo of Socialist building in our country. The main reason is still the low level of the educational work of many teachers and the unsatisfactory grades of students. . . . There are teachers who do not prepare their lessons, do not relate theory to practice—which is one of the basic requirements in the new Socialist school—do not study and apply in their work Soviet pedagogic experience. . . . The methodological preparation of many teachers is very unsatisfactory as a result of bad work in pedagogic institutes, teachers' unions and subject commissions. Some directors and principals are reconciled with serious weaknesses in leaders' work and make no efforts to correct them. Furthermore, their administration is brutal, and they react incorrectly to justified criticism. . . ."

The New Type Teacher

Pravda (Bratislava), December 2, 1952 published an address by former Slovak Commissioner of Education Ernest Sykora, principal speaker at a teacher conference held in Bratislava on December 1:

"... We cannot achieve the New Man unless we realize that it is not sufficient to direct our youth during school hours only, but that we must penetrate their whole life. In this task we face first of all the problem of the teacher of the new type. . . . It is necessary that we constantly learn from Soviet pedagogic examples . . .

therefore the most pressing problem is how to bring our school system closer and closer to the Soviet example, how to unify it and make it more efficient. . . .

"A reduction in educational requirements by at least two years . . . will make it possible for us to equip schools with adequately qualified teachers' cadres and thus increase the overall efficiency of our schools. If we want to speed up the transition to a Socialist school system, it is essential that we educate our public to a Leninist attitude toward the teacher. . . ."

Or as Dhori Samsuri, general inspector of Albanian public education phrased it in *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana), October 18, 1952:

"The duty of our schools is to furnish the new generation with Marxist-Leninist learning. To educate pupils ideologically means to endow them with the scientific ideology of Communism. Since education is a phenomenon of social life and as such reflects the ideology of the class in power, pedagogy in the schools cannot be treated separately from the political life of the country and from the problems which preoccupy our Party today. . . ."

At a recent cultural-ideological conference in Sofia, Bulgarian Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov said that teachers and leaders lacked proper ideological consciousness and urged them to even greater Marxist-Leninist heights. Excerpts from Chervenkov's speech were broadcast by Radio Sofia, February 1, 1953:

"The fulfillment of our new tasks demands that the cultural workers in our country perform much better than heretofore. In 1952 we achieved satisfactory successes on the cultural and ideological front. Nevertheless, while our economy is rapidly expanding, and social reforms are basically changing our country, our ideological front is not proceeding at the same pace. In fact, it is seriously lagging behind the impetuous development of our economic and social structure.

"A superstructure actively affects its foundation. It helps the consolidation of the foundation; and, as Stalin has pointed out, it confirms the elimination of the old foundation; the old classes. All our institutes and organizations designed to propagate socialist ideology—the organs of national education, higher schools, scientific and research institutes, Academy of Sciences, publishing houses, radio, motion pictures, theaters, literature, painting, art and the press—are parts of this superstructure. The main tasks of our ideological and cultural front are to establish the domination of Marxism-Leninism in all branches of knowledge, to eliminate the last remainders of reactionary bourgeois ideology, to develop the socialist consciousness of our masses, and to strengthen our people's democratic institutions and their role of re-education and re-organization."

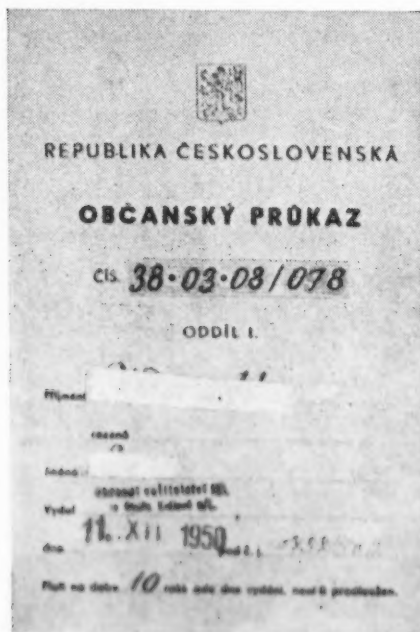
The constant need for ideologically oriented cadres and the reiteration of shortcomings on the cultural and educational fronts gives further evidence that the Procrustes bed of Stalinism has not yet cut the captive people down to the standardized "new Socialist man." Nor have the policies of isolation and indoctrination, dangerous as they are, had their anticipated success.

Card Carriers


Usually a means of protection for the individual, the document of identity has become an effective method of State control in the captive countries. Although citizens in the United States have no State-issued document of identification, the French *Carte d'Identité*, the German *Kennkarte*, and the English Identity Card have long offered personal security and facilitated official reckoning. But these peace-time papers have never exceeded four pages and often are merely a folded card.

In a new peace-time high, Communist-dominated countries now require a thorough and comprehensive array of documents, impressive even in comparison with other "paper conscious" European countries. Identity books, originally designed to incorporate all miscellaneous papers, have been found insufficient for the purposes of bureaucracy. Work books, countless police permits and certificates have multiplied past the point of being a nuisance; but, most important, they are a carefully thought-out method of State control over the activities and movement of its citizens. Under the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, citizens are held responsible for the following documents (when applicable): 1. Citizen's Identity Card, 2. Temporary Identity Card (former Czechoslovak citizens), 3. Certificate of Change of Residence, 4. Application for Temporary Private Residence, 5. Factory Identity Card, 6. Plant Identity Card, 7. Certificate of Work, 8. Draft Notice, 9. Temporary Military Discharge Paper, 10. Military Discharge Paper, 11. Soldier's Book, 12. Certificate of Unfitness for Military Service, 13. a Political Party Card (not necessarily Communist), and even, 14. an Identity Card for Workers on Vacation.

Selected photostats from a group of documents which citizens of Czechoslovakia are required to carry are printed below. These samples were "carried" to the West by a recent Czech exile.



Citizen's Identity Card: A hard-covered, 28 page book containing extensive personal and family data, certificate of citizenship, and certificates of military service and work.



VOJENSKÁ KNÍŽKA

serie **E** evid. číslo: **436969**

Příjmení: _____

Jméno: _____

Vydalo: **Okresní vojenské velitelství Litoměřice**

Hlavní místopisec vojenského velitelství, které vydalo vojenskou knihu

Dne **18. srpna 1951**


Okresní vojenský velitel

[Signature]

1

Karnová kniha

65-100-531-47



Vlastnoručně podpis majitele

Okresní vojenský velitel

Podpis ověřujícího velitele:

[Signature]

Podpis majitele a příjmení

Buď připraven k obraně své lidové demokratické vlasti! Chraň svou vojenskou knihu, čti poučení a ohlašovací povinnosti vojáka mimo činnou službu, nauč se jím a piš je!

Soldier's Book: A hard-covered, 32 page book issued to every reserve soldier, containing personal and military data.

Cis. **1191511034**

Skupina a druh povolání **25a1**

PRACOVNÍ PRŮKAZ

(Zákon ze dne 12. února 1946, č. 23 Sb.)

1	Příjmení (u žen také rodné jméno)	
2	Jméno (křestní)	
3	Den, msa. a rok nar.	10. května 1929
4	Místo narození - správní okres	Maldín st. Kralupy n. Vlt.
5	Státní příslušnost	ČSR
6	Národnost	Čechá

Certificate of Work: A hard-covered, 30 page book with personal data and ample space for official and employer notations.

[Signature]

Narozen dne **26. 10. 1920**

Oddělení **technickí**

LEGITIMACE DOVOLENCE

Druh dovolené **řádná**

Od **16. 7. 1951**

Až **29. 7. 1951**

Práci nastoupí dne **30. 7. 1951**

Podpis _____

1) Legitimaci dovolence odevzdá zaměstnanec při nástupu práce svému vedoucímu.

2) Nenastoupí-li zaměstnanec ve stanovený den po dovolené práci, je považován za neomluveného.

SVIT, národní podnik, GOTTWALDOV I.

(32 1849 V 9-49 (3-3-23))

Identity Card for Workers on Vacation: A tri-sectional card required for every worker on vacation or leave.

News Briefs

Price of Communism Soars

It is reported that on January 1, 1953, membership fees in the Hungarian Communist Party were raised by three to 50 *forints* (*forint*-dollar exchange: 11:1) per month. The previous scale adopted in 1949 called for fees ranging from two to 60 *forints* per month according to monthly wages of 600 to 2500 *forints*. "Voluntary" contributions by all Party members of an additional 50-100% of the regular fees are solicited at regular intervals.

Factories Falter in Student Filter

Rude Pravo (Prague), January 21, carried an appeal by Comrade V. Michalkova for more careful screening of workers applying for university scholarships. She complained that factories are reluctant to release their most able shockworkers. "The results are embarrassing," wrote Comrade Michalkova:

"Last year a candidate was unable to figure out the price of seven apples at three crowns apiece. The Regional Committee turned down his application, but the Slovak Commissariat for Education pushed it through. The Youth League in Prague-Ziskov suggested a member who had embezzled some funds. When asked to make good the damage, he stole some more—this time from his comrades. Another student applied and was rejected for his unreliable character. The management of the mine in which he worked had recommended him, probably anxious to be rid of him."

Party Member Shows His Stripes

A Bulgarian Party member was caught with his pyjamas on and thereby gave away his secret bourgeois leanings, according to *Sturshel* (Sofia), January 23. In Communist Bulgaria, it would seem, pyjama-wearing is the first symptom of reversion to pre-"democratic" individualism. The incriminating incident was discussed at a Party meeting:

"During the fall sowing campaign, another Comrade and I went to visit Comrade Petkovski at his home. We knocked on the door. The door opened and revealed Comrade Petkovski in pyjamas, like an old-fashioned *petit-bourgeois*. We were dumbfounded. We knew Comrade Petkovski well. In the past he had always seemed reliable, and all at once we caught him wearing his pyjamas.

"Probably this is his wife's influence, Comrades. It must be checked. Comrade Petkovski has forgotten himself. He is setting himself apart from the broad masses. After all, didn't we fight for equality? First we find him wearing pyjamas. Who knows where that can lead? Tomorrow he will want his children to take piano lessons. It is all the same kind of thing."

Albanian Ban on Broadcasts

Listening to foreign radio broadcasts is now prohibited in Albania by order of a decree issued in January by Mehmet Shehu, Vice-Premier and Minister of the Interior. Persons violating this decree are liable to prison terms ranging from five to 20 years and confiscation of all property. Severe penalties are also laid down for persons spreading reports about foreign stations.

Stars in the East

Central Europe has its own brand of "flying saucers"—illuminations which, in a report from Bulgarian refugees, are called a "mystery," and, in a report from Czechoslovakia, are identified as rockets used for border defense. The descriptions are similar, although there is no definite link between the two phenomena.

Bulgarian refugees who escaped to Turkey while serving with a Bulgarian infantry regiment at Blagoevgrad stated that, beginning in 1951 and continuing through the summer of 1952, rocket flares were frequently seen in the mountain area of Blagoevgrad:

"This curious spectacle, puzzled over by officers and enlisted men alike, was an unsolved mystery. . . . No sounds were heard because the flares were set off at a considerable distance. A flare of green, white, or red, like a rocket, would suddenly appear from a distant point, swooping in an arc over the military area. Then, from the opposite direction, a second flare would appear, as though in answer to the first. No trace of them was ever found on the ground.

"The number of flares would vary without discernible pattern. Sometimes they would appear on three or four nights in a week. Usually at least two pairs of rockets were set off, each rocket coming from a direction opposite to its mate. Common opinion had it that the rockets were set off by partisan bands in the mountains, probably as a method of communication. It was thought unlikely that the military authorities were setting off the fireworks and concealing the fact from the soldiers and officers stationed in the district."

On January 13, 1953, West German observers near Daberg, district of Cham, reported that Czechoslovak border guards were testing a new type of illuminating rocket in the vicinity of Maxov, Domzlice district. These missiles rose to a height of 70 to 90 yards, exploding in a cluster of six star flares. They appeared to burn much longer than illuminations previously used by the border guards.

It is believed that the light signals are regulated as follows: one red rocket indicates that an escape to Germany is being attempted, two red rockets signal an attempt to cross the border into Czechoslovakia, a green rocket means that the patrol needs help, and two green rockets signal the arrest of a suspect.

Fur Coats Sent to Wrap Up Austrian Elections

A Vienna news source reported that a shipment of clothes from Hungary, advertised for sale at extravagantly low prices, arrived in Vienna at the beginning of the Austrian election campaign. Hungarian suits were sold for 200-300 schillings (\$8-\$11) and women's fur coats at 1200-1800 schillings (\$48-\$66). This sale of Hungarian goods at retail prices far below manufacturing cost, made at the expense of the Hungarian worker, was a propaganda move to impress Austrian voters with the "workers' paradise" enjoyed under the Communist regime.

Stalin Hung



Ilyenek lesznek a főváros legszebb terének díszlámpái. Képink az első, már felszerelt lámpát ábrázolja.

The January 19 edition of the Hungarian newspaper *Esti Budapest* startled its readers with a front page photograph which seemed to show Stalin suspended from a Budapest lamp post. The caption reads: "Our picture shows the first fully equipped lamp of the type which will decorate the main squares of our city."

In reality, it was an optical illusion. The photographer who took a picture of the lamp post failed to notice in the print that a statue of Stalin in the background appeared to be hanging from it. Frantic but only partially successful efforts were made to recall the edition, and the newspaper was severely rebuked for its lack of vigilance. Rumors were circulated that the photographer had been arrested.

Love Might Take a Hand

The possibility of romance arising in a collective "where boy meets girl" cannot be discounted, according to a Radio Prague broadcast on January 19. In a discussion on love and friendship by members of the Czechoslovak Youth League, one participant observed:

"We speak of friendship, but I believe that in a collective composed of young people of both sexes, where boy meets girl, love might also take a hand. However, it is safe to say that today people do not fall in love just because of a pair of lovely blue eyes, but also, for example, because the partner is one of the best workers. A girl excelling at work which is not strictly cut out for women is bound to be admired. There is an old saying that love is blind, but nowadays love is an eye opener.

"The other day I overheard someone say, 'Why should we talk of love and quote poetry when we are engaged in building Socialism? Such things only delay and distract us.' This may not be everyone's idea, although it must be admitted that this young man might have a point too. . . ."

No More Blues for Hamlet

The Communists unanimously profess a deep devotion to Shakespeare. They attempt to show that he wrote "for the masses" and that the Western world degrades the works of the great playwright. *Scanteia* (Bucharest), December 28, carried an item entitled "Shakespeare and American Businessmen":

"American businessmen show a peculiar interest in Shakespeare's works. Shakespearean actors are often required to alter their lines, according to the necessities and interests of the capitalists. 'Othello' was recently used to advertise the products of a firm selling shortening. The *New York Times* published ads entitled 'Hamlet and Ballantine Beer.' In these, the hero of one of the greatest dramas of the world is presented as a ridiculous Melancholic Dane who claims that if he drinks this American-made beer, he will immediately be cured of his melancholy. . . ."

Current—As the Party Line

Civic conditions in the Bulgarian city of Pleven were pinpointed by *Sturshel* (Sofia), January 9, as follows:

"Unnecessary—as the timetable of interurban services.
"Negligent—as the chief in charge of bread distribution.

"Unclean—as the city market square.

"Inaccurate—as the department of coal distribution.

"Irregular—as the electric power in the 7th District.

"Lonely—as the railroad station.

"Cold—as the public bath."

Press Piracy

That numerous official newspapers of regional Party committees run each other's stories without crediting the original source was deplored by the Prague daily *Rude Pravo*, February 4. *Rude Pravo* cited one instance in which a regional newspaper had featured the same article twice within two weeks and on neither occasion had identified its source:

"An editorial under the heading 'Implementing the New Party Regulations' appeared on January 14 in the Ostrava *Nova Svoboda* [New Freedom]. It was a good editorial. . . .

"But one thing baffled the readers. Why did such an important article contain no references to local problems? Why? Because the editor simply reprinted it from the first 1953 issue of *Funkcionar* [publication for Party officials.] To make things worse, the editor failed to quote the source.

"On January 30, readers noted with interest another article in *Nova Svoboda* under the heading 'Implementing the New Party Regulations.' Not only the headline, but the whole article was, word for word, the same one which the reader had seen two weeks previously. The source again was not given.

"Now the Ostrava regional Party committee should solve the problem of why the editorial office of its own publication commits such obvious blunders."

Meeting in Moscow

The Slav Military Science Association, a derivative of the wartime Soviet-led Union of Slav Fighters, is reported to have held its first conference in Moscow on November 11, 1952. Fifty-two officer-candidates from the captive countries studying in Soviet military schools met under the chairmanship of the Soviet General A.B. Tumanin. The participants are believed to have included 21 Poles, 17 Czechoslovaks, 10 Bulgarians and four Stalinist Yugoslavs.

The meeting disclosed the fact that, twice yearly, picked officer groups are sent from the Satellite countries to the Soviet Union to study at Soviet military academies. They are assigned to the Political Military Academy of Lenin, Frunze Military Academy, the Stalin Military Tank Academy, the Voroshilov Military Academy, the Kuybyshev Engineering Academy and others.

The "select worker-peasant element" sent to these courses is subject to a more thorough basic indoctrination than in their native countries. They are not only given advanced military training but are encouraged to consider themselves the "elite" of their national officer corps, spokesmen for Soviet military doctrine, and purveyors of the theory that defense of Soviet Union interests is identical with defense of their own countries.

The propagandizing function of the Association was exemplified in a special manifesto issued by its Organization Committee, headed by Lt. Col. Zdzislaw Idasiak, a senior member of the Polish group. In the portion of the manifesto addressed to Polish soldiers, a typical sentence read: "Imperialist agents paid in dollars, the Sosnkowkis and the Anderses, traitorously desire to strike at your freedom, fought and paid for with your blood and the heroism of the undefeated Red Army."

The Union of Slav Fighters, formed in 1944 by the Russians, was an organization of Communist or crypto-Communist military men of various Slav nationalities who, during the war, found asylum in the Soviet Union. The goal of this organization was to aid Soviet Russia in defeating Germany and in setting up Communist governments in the East European countries after the war. With the aid of a network of Soviet agents who were dropped in large numbers in these countries, the Union of Slav Fighters accomplished its aim and was dissolved after the series of *coups* which brought the Communists to state power in Eastern Europe.

Officials Convicted

The satirical weekly *Dikobraz* (Prague) disclosed on August 31, 1952, that the chairman and secretary of the Communist Party's National Committee in Hermanice had confiscated the clothing ration coupons of a certain tax-delinquent citizen and had sold the coupons on the black market for 1000 *koruny* [\$20]. (See October 1952 issue, p. 52). *Dikobraz* reported proudly on February 1 that both officials had been convicted and sentenced to two months imprisonment. The chairman was put on probation, but the secretary will serve his sentence.

For A Waistcoat, A Spoon . . .

Because of the pilfering of silverware from restaurants in Czechoslovakia, where cutlery has not been available in shops for several months, a new measure has recently been introduced whereby knives, forks and spoons are supplied to cafeteria customers only upon payment of a deposit of 100 *koruny* [\$2] for a spoon and 200 *koruny* for a knife and fork. The deposit is refunded when the silverware is returned to the counter.

Dikobraz (Prague), December 21, traced the dilemma of the customer who is unprepared to make this sizeable deposit:

"Everything seemed just as usual. We paid the cashier and hurried to the counter; we pushed our tickets into the hand of the waitress. We were given our food, but no silverware. The girl pointed mutely to a poster: 'Spoon, 100 *koruny*; knife and fork, 200 *koruny*.' Our jaws closed with a click. We had not counted on the deposit. Where were we to lay our hands on so much money, when we barely had the price of a meal? We were dumbfounded. How were we to eat? The dumplings could be dipped in the gravy, but what to do with the soup? They could at least provide straws. One of us started to cut the dumplings with his jackknife, but he couldn't eat the soup that way!

"We returned singly to the counter. 'Miss,' we said, 'we can't drink soup like horses. We do not have such coarse natures. We are civilized customers; don't ask such things of us!'

"The girl looked unhappy. She shrugged her shoulders. She could not issue silverware without a deposit, she said. The decree was not her idea. One of us went behind a pillar to drink the soup, but spilled half of it over his waistcoat. This was too much. He took the waistcoat off and went to the counter. 'Here,' he said, 'is my waistcoat; give me a spoon. And for my coat, a knife and fork.'

"What a relief! Even the girl perked up. She did not like to harass the customers, she explained, but she was afraid to disregard the decree. Immediately we all handed over our coats and took knives and forks. For a waistcoat, a spoon. Those without waistcoats gave suspenders. Or a tie. We were of course reluctant to remove anything else—natural shyness, you know. But we had found a solution. This is what one calls self-aid."

Anti-Clericalism a Literary Tradition

An anthology of anti-clerical literature entitled, *The Arrogance of Gentlemen and Priests Whom We Have Tolerated Too Long*, was recently published in Hungary, according to an article in *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), December 12, which alleged that "this anthology proves our anti-clerical traditions to be virtually as old as Hungarian literature itself":

"The anthology [which contains works by nearly 100 authors] testifies to the fact that almost every outstanding figure in Hungarian literature came into conflict with the clergy. When reading the 500 pages of this book, we are more convinced than ever of the truth of Com-

rade Rakosi's statement that 'the best of the Hungarians—Petöfi, Arany, Ady, Attila József—have seen in clerical reaction one of the greatest obstacles to the liberation of our working people.'

"Why did the best Hungarians fight so consistently against the clergy? Why has anti-clericalism become one of our strongest literary traditions? Because the clergy has always been one of the most stalwart props of reaction. By terror and falsification the old order has always tried to suppress the struggle of Hungarian culture for progress and freedom. . . ."

Hot Spots

How Soviet-style heating methods can make 440 pounds of coal last for an entire winter was explained in an article in the Hungarian journal *Heves Megye Nepujsag* (Eger). The article, which throws a revealing light on Hungary's fuel problems, advised housewives to the use the following methods for keeping rooms warm:

"1. Use as small a stove as possible because this gives out heat immediately. 2. When the stove is hot place bricks on top of it, keeping them there until they glow. Then place the bricks in various parts of the room, under desks, beds, chairs, etc., where the bricks slowly give off their heat. 3. Beds should be moved away from walls and isolated from the floor by wood planks so that they will retain the heat.

"By following the above methods, the 440 lbs. of coal at present allowed for heating one room will last at least three months."

Long Range View

Persons suffering from eye defects in Poland are finding it difficult to remedy this condition, it was disclosed at an optometrists's convention held recently in Warsaw. This meeting, as described by *Kurier Rzemieslniczy* (Warsaw), November 28, "demonstrated a serious concern for the needs of the working people, since, in fact, the optometrists are almost exclusively engaged in the manufacture of spectacles."

The newspaper drew attention to the serious shortage of optometrists in Poland: "In proportion to the needs of the urban population alone, the number of optometric establishments amounts to only one-third of the number needed for the service of eye patients. This need is steadily mounting as a result of publicity campaigns to uncover health defects of persons unaware of these defects."

Even those fortunate enough to secure the attention of an oculist and obtain a prescription for spectacles find that their troubles may not be over. The newspaper concluded: "Optometrists are frequently unable to supply the lenses prescribed for individual patients. Certain lenses are admittedly seldom called for, but this does not eliminate the necessity of having such lenses in stock, for patients should not be made to wait for spectacles which they need. At the convention an appeal was made for increasing the variety of lenses and spectacle frames by accelerating domestic production or, if necessary, by imports from abroad."

Latvian Escapees Win Swedish Permit

Swedish authorities have granted a Stockholm residence permit to the four refugees who, fearing deportation by the Communists, escaped from Latvia in a fishing vessel to the Swedish island of Gotland, where they landed on January 21. This is the first case in which persons entering Sweden illegally have been permitted to live and work in Stockholm.

The refugees, who were held incommunicado by the police until the Swedish Alien Board defined their status, have been identified as Andrejs Kairis, the ship's captain; Zanis Nicis, a welder, and his wife Lilijs; and Gunars Cukurs, brother of Mrs. Nicis.

The young couple paid a high price for freedom: the life of their only child, a girl of 3, who suffocated in the water tank in which she had been hidden on the fishing trawler. She was given a Lutheran funeral, partly conducted by a refugee Latvian pastor, and buried in the little village of Hemse on Gotland Island.

Details about the daring escape across the Baltic Sea are now known. The trip had been carefully planned. Before leaving the Latvian port of Liepaja, the captain had smuggled the three others aboard his trawler during the night. The little girl and her father were hidden in an empty water tank, which was sealed after them. A tap left open to allow for air circulation was closed by one of the crew members who did not know of the plot. Out at sea the captain locked the crew members in the cargo room and headed the vessel for Sweden. When the water tank was opened, the child was found dead and the father unconscious.

At Gotland, the captain, the married couple and the brother gave themselves up to the Swedish police, requesting asylum as political refugees. They were temporarily quartered at the Hemse police station, where Latvians, individual Swedes, and refugee organizations all over the country showered them with cables, letters, gifts and money.

Gypsy Mood

Although gypsies in Poland, as in all Iron Curtain countries, are under constant pressure to settle and assume regular jobs, they cling tenaciously to their traditional way of life. A Polish correspondent writes that bands of gypsies can still be seen roaming the countryside from time to time:

"After the Nazi occupation, when gypsies were deprived of all their belongings and sent in large numbers to concentration camps, the survivors again organized a vagrant gypsy life according to the old pattern. But it is increasingly difficult for them to make a living, since the usefulness of their special trade—blacksmith work—is rapidly diminishing. Most of them now are occupied in horse trading or in the various handicrafts.

"The women still cultivate the ancient art of fortune telling. For a proper prophecy, without names being given, 10 zlotys [\$2.50] are charged. For more compre-

hensive forebodings, complete with names and dates, the minimum charge is 20 zlotys. The prophesying female gypsies still wear their traditional colorful costumes."

Jazz Gems Cut No Ice

The Polish press wages an unremitting war on jazz, swing, and all other manifestations of bourgeois musical taste. In its latest foray, *Slowo Powszechne* (Warsaw), February 4, put a prominent Polish band leader on the spot:

"Reporter: 'May I ask you how you select your music?'

Band leader: 'Our repertoire testifies to our high standards of taste. We firmly reject all kinds of cheapness, boogie-woogie, and sambaism. We are resolved to search for our own national patterns, to reach for the sources of folklore, to base our programs on the best achievements of Polish dance music. This is our task and our goal.'

Reporter: 'Of course. That explains why you feature gems of dance music such as *So I Can't Help Being A Brute*, *Titina Was Ill and She Went to A Doctor*; *Ah, Louise, I'm Burning With A Wild Love For You*, and *Is Miss Agnes Living Here—She's the Cutest Girl in Town?*'

"We wish this band leader all good fortune in his quest for the people's music. Search, my dear sir, and you will find it. It's there—somewhere."

Oil Prospects

One of Hungary's most valuable oil areas, the oil fields of Lispe, which were developed by the Hungarian-American Oil Company *Maort*, is coming increasingly under the roving eye of the Communist regime.

Private reports reveal that government prospecting is now in progress near Keszthely under the reed banks of Lake Balaton, the largest fresh water lake in Europe, at a point in a direct line from Fenekpuszta. The assumption is that the Lispe oil fields may extend under the basin of the Lake and that the shallow water of Balaton may cover rich oil deposits just as does the Caspian Sea. The first experiments in August 1952 were reported promising, and in September extensive drilling equipment arrived at Fenekpuszta. A special ship which will facilitate underwater drilling is scheduled to go into operation in the next few months.

A Depot By Any Other Name . . .

The names of Prague's three main railway stations—Wilson, Masaryk, and Denis—were changed in January to Prague-Main, Central and Tesnov respectively. According to *Lidova Demokracie*, (Prague), December 25, these names were stigmatized as "symbols of reaction." It may be recalled that Wilson was a strong supporter of an independent Czechoslovak state. Ernest Denis, a well-known French historian, was a close friend and collaborator of Masaryk and Benes.

Fallen Heroes

In mid-January the Czechoslovak State Film Company released the movie *Kidnapped*, a dramatization of the story of the Czechoslovak airplane which, taking off from Prague in the spring of 1950 for a routine run to Bratislava, was flown instead to Erding, near Munich, in Western Germany. (See November 1952 issue, p. 39).

This film was in production for over two years, as hurried scenario writers struggled to keep abreast of current developments. One of the original heroes of the film was the pilot of the airplane, Josef Klesnil, who was forced at gun point to turn over the controls to his co-pilot, the leader of the escape plot. Klesnil promptly returned with some of the passengers to Czechoslovakia, where he was hailed as a hero and made the central figure of a book entitled *Kidnapped to Erding*. But the book had to be withdrawn, and the emphasis in the film shifted, because Klesnil remained only long enough to collect his wife and make good their own escape. The director of the Czechoslovak Air Lines, another of the film's heroes, was subsequently arrested for "lack of Socialist vigilance," requiring further revisions in the script.

Club Completed

A European news source reveals that early in November the renovation and decoration of the Soviet Club, established over a year ago at 120 Stalin Street for Soviet citizens in Budapest was completed. The main hall is reportedly dominated by a huge fresco showing the "liberation" of Budapest by the Russians. The building contains a gallery furnished with precious paintings, tapestries and art objects, and exhibiting the letter which Premier Matyas Rakosi wrote to Stalin on the occasion of the occupation of Budapest. According to workers employed on the construction of the new interior, Budapest has never seen luxury approaching the pomp of the Soviet Club.

Due Credit

The mushrooming of monuments to the glory of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovak cities is all very well, says *Kvety* (Prague), January 16, but the designers of these works of art ought to be identified:

"During the past seven years, more new monuments have been unveiled in our cities than were built in whole decades during former times. Most of the monuments are to remind us of the heroic role of the Soviet Union in our liberation, and the solemn unveiling ceremonies are always important occasions. The newspapers publish detailed accounts of these celebrations, but usually neglect to mention the name of the artist who created the monument. This is completely wrong. . . ."

House Rules

A practical measure favored in the Soviet Union and its Satellites for exercising control over the life of workers is to assemble them in workers' settlements; i.e., housing colonies located near the plant where they work. In Lithuania, a model 6-block settlement was built during the summer of 1952 in a suburb of Wilno called Antopol.

Some 1400 people were living in this settlement by November 1952, according to a Stockholm report. Single persons in groups of two to four live in one room, and take their meals in canteens set up in each block. One or two-room kitchen apartments are allocated to families. In addition to its own canteen, each block has a library, a shoemaker, a tailor, a hairdresser, and the so-called *Uniwermag*, a State shop which sells consumer goods at prices fixed for the residents of the settlements.

Block committees, composed of members of the Communist Party, are the instruments of control over the life and behavior of the inhabitants. Their authority is never clearly defined, but is exercised in such a way that the workers quickly sense what is expected of them. And so, for example, those who wish to go to the city after work are not required to notify anybody about it—in practice, however, they prefer to sign up in a book provided for their "convenience", indicating where and when they are going. Workers who receive letters from friends and relatives submit them after reading to the block leader, to demonstrate their harmlessness. Letters written by workers are also given to the block leader, unsealed, with money for stamps. The workers profess to be in a hurry and ask the leader to post their letters for them. This, of course, is a pretext for having their letters examined and approved.

Block "correspondents" are another instrument for checking the life of workers. As reporters whose duty it is to supply the workers' bulletins with information on the achievements, needs and conditions of the workers' life, they are permitted to investigate almost everything that concerns the workers. These correspondents, in practice, address more of their reports to the local Party Committee than to the workers' bulletins. In the Antopol settlement, the correspondents are recruited from among the young girls who are Komsomol members, organized for the purpose by a secretary of the Wilno district Komsomol, a Russian Communist named Wolczakowa.

Every Sunday before noon political meetings are held and attendance is carefully checked. It is believed that one of the main objects of these meetings is to prevent residents from going to Mass. (For a report on a similar apparatus of Party control in Hungary, see January 1953 issue, p. 53).

Research Projects on Eastern Europe

Prepared by the National Committee for a Free Europe

The studies listed below have recently been completed by members of the Research and Publications Service. They are available in limited quantities and may be obtained by writing NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, National Committee for a Free Europe, 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

Workers' Living Standards in Communist Czechoslovakia; 1949-1951 (Research and Publications Service, February 1953) 41 pages. Do Czechoslovak workers live better today than in the democratic pre-war days? Does the Communist government systematically contribute to the well-being of the workers? On the basis of available information and by means of charts and statistics, the trends of wages, fringe benefits and living costs are analyzed in terms of Communist policy towards workers' living standards. Between 1949 and 1950, workers' real wages improved and almost reached pre-war levels. The setback encountered between 1950 and 1951 more than offset the gain of the preceding year and established an unfavorable pattern. Since 1950, Communist economic and labor policies have produced a continuing strained situation for which there is no other term than the economic symptoms of slavery. A supplement covering developments in 1952 is in preparation.

Price 15 cents.

Land Reforms in Czechoslovakia (Research and Publications Service, February 1953) 69 pages. The first land reform in Czechoslovakia, in 1919—although the most extensive in Central Europe at that time—did not entirely satisfy the farming population, which constituted one half of the entire nation. A fully satisfactory solution would have been the most efficacious weapon against Communism. German occupation prevented land reform revisions, and in the post-war democratic period the Communists blocked equitable land distribution. The land reform introduced by the Communists after the 1948 *coup d'état* brought agricultural misery, which resulted in shortages of all farm produce, particularly meat, and the rationing of such foodstuffs as fruit and vegetables, unrationed even under the Nazis.

Price 25 cents.

The Communist Parties in the Soviet Sphere: a Monthly Survey of Developments and Trends in Czechoslovakia; January 1953 (Research and Publications Service, February 1953) 20 pages. This survey is the first of a new series designed to give the specialist in East European affairs a closer understanding of internal shifts in Party policy, organization, and personnel. The series as now planned will include similar monthly studies of Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

Stresses within the Satellite parties are soon felt in every area of East European life. Destruction of political opposition and the last remaining islands of free economy leave the Communist parties in a position of undisputed power monopoly, exercising iron control over church, army, schools, police, courts, factories, and farms. In the present pattern of events, the Party is synonymous with the State.

Price 15 cents.

THE RED AND THE BLACK: the Church in the Communist State (Research and Publications Service, February 1953) 75 pages. Communism and religion are incompatible. Although its ultimate goal is destruction of the church and extirpation of religion, the more immediate demands of Stalinist strategy are for domination of the clerical apparatus for its own specific purposes. In their desire to win over the masses of the captive area, traditionally a stronghold of religion, the Communists have adopted a mask of pseudo-tolerance for church and religion.

The conquest of the church has been achieved first by enveloping the clergy in an atmosphere of fear and violence, gradually extending censorship to the pulpit, thus impairing the church's ability to resist Communist incursions, and finally by totally suppressing the church or converting it into a Communist front. This campaign was carried out primarily on two fronts, Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox, and this study deals first with the predominantly Catholic countries and afterward with the predominantly Orthodox.

Price 50 cents.



National Committee For a Free Europe, Inc.
110 W. 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

